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S. D. Clettermogdale, March 10 1910.

" Gilbert Burnet, the Whig, Broad Church
" Bishop of Salisbury, was born in Edinburgh
" 18. Sept. 1643. At ten he entered Marischal
" College, Aberdeen, and four years later, taking
" his M.A. he applied himself first to Law then
" to Divinity with such diligence that in 1661
" he was admitted a Probationer. In 1663 he
" visited Cambridge, Oxford and London, and next
" year perfected his Hebrew under a Rabbi at
" Amsterdam. In 1665 he became minister of
" Saltoun, Haddingtonshire, in 1669 Professor of
" Divinity at Glasgow, but in 1674 having
" brought on himself the enmity of his old
" patron, Lauderdale, he resigned the chair and
" settled in London where he was made chaplain
" to the Rolls Chapel and afterwards lecturer at
" St. Clements. In 1683 he attended the execution
" of his friend Russell and Charles II evidenced his
" unkindly spite in depriving him of his lectureship.
" On the accession of James II he went to the
" Continent but returned with William III who
" appointed him Bishop of Salisbury. His first wife
" was remarkable for her beauty, his second for
" her fortune and his third for her piety".
(Chambers's Biographical Dictionary)

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* * *

CARLYLE

An ABRIDGMENT
OF BISHOP
BURNET'S
HISTORY of HIS
OWN TIMES

by the REVEREND
Mr. THOMAS
STACKHOUSE

LONDON: PUBLISHED
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EDITOR'S NOTE

"It seems," said Horace Walpole, speaking of Burnet and his "History of My Own Times," "as if he had just come from the King's closet or from the apartments of the men whom he describes, and was telling his readers, in plain honest terms, what he had seen and heard."

So plain and honest, indeed, and so free-spoken, was Bishop Burnet's chronicle, that, realizing its certain effect on his contemporaries, he arranged that it should not be published for six years after his death.

He died in 1715; and it was not actually published till 1723, eight years afterwards. It led to a great outcry, in which the voice of Swift was heard, with a Jacobite chorus sustaining the burden. "His Secret History," said Swift, "is generally made up of coffee-house scandals . . . his vanity runs intolerably through the whole book. . . . He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality." Pope, too, derided Burnet's egotistic style in his "Memoirs of P. P., Clerk of this Parish."[1] But the vehemence of the criticism is the measure of the life and lifelikeness of the work. For the latter half of the seventeenth and the opening of the eighteenth century, the History is a familiar mirror of the clearest kind, though no doubt the medium has here and there a deflecting warp or flaw. Gilbert Burnet was born in Edinburgh in 1643, son of an Episcopalian father and a Presbyterian mother. He was a great and eloquent preacher; was Preacher of the Roll's Chapel, and Lecturer of St. Clement's, until he was inhibited by Charles II., after Burnet had attended Lord William Russell to the scaffold, and written his significant record of that event. He became Bishop of Salisbury on his return to England in 1688–9, after his exile at the Hague. His "History of the Reformation" is the other work by which he is best remembered to-day.

The following is a complete list of his published works:—

Discourse on Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, 1665; A Modest and Free Conference between a Conformist and Nonconformist, in Seven Dialogues,

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[1] Works (ed. by Courthope and Elwin), vol. x. p. 435.

1669 ; Vindication of the Authority, Constitution and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland, 1673 ; The Mystery of Iniquity Unveiled, 1673 ; Rome's Glory ; or, a Collection of Divers Miracles wrought by Popish Saints, 1673 ; A Relation of a Conference held about Religion at London, 3rd April, 1676 ; Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton, 1676 ; A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, 1677, 1688 ; Two Letters upon the Discovery of the Late Plot, 1678 ; History of the Reformation of the Church of England, 1679–1714 ; abridgment of same, 1682, 1719 ; Some Passages of the Life and Death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 1680 ; The Infallibility of the Romish Church Examined and Confuted, 1680 ; News from France ; Letter on the Present Difference between the French King and the Court of Rome, 1682 ; History of the Rights of Princes in the Disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices, etc., 1682 ; Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, 1682 ; Life of Dr. William Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, 1685 ; Reflections on Mr. Varilla's History of the Revolutions . . . in Europe in Matters of Religion, etc., 1686, 1687 ; Travels in France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, 1687 ; Six Papers (against the Test Act, on Citation of Author for High Treason, Liberty of Conscience, and other tracts), 1687 ; Collection of Eighteen Papers, written during the reign of James II., 1689 ; A Discourse concerning the Pastoral Care, 1962 ; Four Discourses to the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury, 1694 ; Essay on the Memory of Queen Mary, 1695 ; Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, 1699 ; Exposition of the Church Catechism, 1710 ; Speech on the Impeachment of Sacheverell, 1710 ; Four Letters between Burnet and Henry Dodwell, 1713 ; History of His Own Time, vol. i., 1723 ; vol. ii., 1734.

Burnet's Sermons, 1674–1714, were published separately ; collections of them in "Tracts and Discourses," 1704 ; Sermons preached on Several Occasions," etc., 1713. Other writings are extant under headings : Discourses and Tracts in Divinity ; Tracts against Popery ; Tracts Polemical, Political, and Miscellaneous ; History and Historical Tracts.

1906.

BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIMES

BOOK I

A RECAPITULATION OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE TROUBLES TO THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II.—FROM 1603 TO 1660

During the minority of King James the administration of affairs was in the hands of those who fell in with the prevailing humour of the nation; but when that prince grew up to be of age, and to take the government upon himself, he found two parties in the kingdom; the one consisting of such as were well-wishers to the Queen his mother, dependent on the Court of France, and either professed Papists or persons of indifference as to all religions; the other, of such as were her inveterate enemies, zealous for the Reformation and fixed in their dependence on the Court of England.

This party (how well soever affected to the King's interest) was a little too jealous of his authority, and too apt to encroach upon it, which made him listen to such insinuations as the other had in store for him; and these insinuations the House of Guise, then at the head of affairs in France and the implacable enemy to the Reformation, took care to improve; for, under the pretence of keeping up the old alliances between France and Scotland, the creatures of that house were sent as ambassadors there, and one of them became so great a favourite that the King made him Duke of Lennox, a known Papist, though he pretended to be a Protestant.

The English ministers took umbrage at this conduct; and when they found that applications to gain the young King proved ineffectual, they infused such a jealousy of him into all their party in Scotland as alarmed both nobility and clergy. The King, however, disguised, or at least denied, everything that gave offence in his behaviour; and when the Duke of

Guise was killed at Blois, Henry III. murdered soon after, an Henry IV. succeeded in his room, he withdrew from Frenc counsels, and put himself entirely under the management o Queen Elizabeth and her ministers.

It is very observable that, so long as the Duke of Guise lived the King, though then three-and-twenty and the only perso of his family, would never hearken to any proposition fo marrying a Protestant; but no sooner was the Duke remove than he presently married a daughter of Denmark, and, afte his marriage, endeavoured all that was possible to remove th suspicions that had been conceived of him. He granted th Kirk all the laws that they desired, and got his tempora authority better established than it was before. The jealousies, however, of his fickleness in religion still remained, whic occasioned many new disgusts, and were indeed the true caus of all the rude opposition which that King met with from th Kirk, and which wrought in him such an inveterate hatred o Presbytery, though Archbishop Spottiswood, in his History, thinks proper to conceal it.

It was time now for the King to think of securing his succession to the crown of England, and because he was apprehensive of some opposition from the Popish party in Scotland, h therefore employed several persons in posts of great trust (Elphinstone was Secretary of State, and Seaton afterwards Chancellor), who were known to be Papists, though they complied outwardly, and by their means gave the party assuranc of his intended connivance at their religion. The like assuranc he gave to the Pope in a letter, which, when it came to b published by Bellarmine, his secretary took upon himself, and assoiled the King of, though this was accounted no more than a collusion to allay the jealousies of the King's favouring Popery, which all his writing upon the Revelation, and calling the Pope "Antichrist," could never totally clear him of.

Cecil was, at this time, secretary to Queen Elizabeth. With him he entered into a particular confidence; and by the good management of his ambassador, Bruce, procured an engagement, signed by all the great men of England, without their privity to each other, or the Queen's suspecting anything of it, to assert and stand by his right of succession to the English crown. Cecil and Bruce were well rewarded for this piece of service, and he succeeded to the crown without any molestation.

When the King came to England, his settled aversion to the

Kirk made him the more willing to set up Episcopacy in Scotland, and to reduce that nation to a conformity, in matters of religion, with England. To this purpose it was enacted that a form of prayer should be drawn for Scotland; the sacrament received kneeling, and given to the sick; confirmation and the use of the cross in baptism retained; certain chief holy-days observed; and the habits in which Divine offices were to be performed left to the King's appointment. These things passed first in General Assemblies, composed of bishops and the deputies chosen by the clergy, but not without violent opposition, and too good reason to suspect that some were frightened and others corrupted into a compliance.

One great difficulty in the thing was want of fit revenues for the bishops. The tithes and Church lands had been all vested in the Crown during the King's minority, and thence granted out to those who were in power; but out of these a competent proportion was sequestered in every parish for the maintenance of him who served the cure, so that bishops were forced to hold their former cures, with some small addition, till the King should buy, from the grantees, such estates as belonged to the bishoprics. In the meantime, the bishops grew generally haughty, attenders at Court, negligent of their functions, and lost in the esteem of the people, the few who were more learned and strict, grossly leaning to Popery; so that the King became weary of the opposition he met with, apprehensive of some ill effects it might produce, and, either through sloth or fear went no further in his designs on Scotland. He had three children. His eldest, Prince Henry, was a prince of great hopes; but so little like his father that he rather feared than loved him. So zealous a Protestant was that young prince, that when his father was entertaining propositions of marrying him to two different Popish princesses,[1] he requested, in a letter he wrote to him, that it might be to the younger of them, because there were more hopes of her conversion, and that any liberty given to her religion might be kept as private as possible. Whether his aversion to Popery might hasten his death or not, is unknown; but it is very probable, and what King Charles I. did not hesitate to say, that he was poisoned by the Earl of Somerset's means.

He married his only daughter to a Protestant prince, one of the most zealous and sincere of them all, the Elector Palatine, who, upon the deposing of Ferdinand for his cruel persecution of his Protestant subjects, and violating the privileges secured to them by law, was by an Assembly of the States elected King of Bohemia, and upon the encouragement of his two uncles, Maurice Prince of Orange and the Duke of Boulogne, accepted of it. This acceptance was notified to King James. The English nation was very well inclined to support it, and it was not doubted but that so near a conjunction with the King would have pleaded in his favour. But whether it was the invincible aversion he had to war, or his opinion of such a Divine right in kings as allowed none to be accountable to their subjects, it so happened that he would neither acknowledge his son-in-law's title, nor give him any assistance for the support of his new dignity. Maurice, at the same time, had so embroiled Holland by espousing the controversy about the decrees of God in opposition to the Arminian party, and by erecting a new and illegal court, whereby Barneveldt was condemned to death, and several others to imprisonment and deprivation, that he was in no condition to send any considerable succours to his nephew, in consequence of which the poor King was soon overthrown, and driven not only out of his new dominions, but out of his hereditary countries likewise, and forced to flee to Holland, where he ended his days. Thus was a glorious occasion of establishing the Reformation lost, and a very near relation given up for a sacrifice. But this was not the only inglorious instance in King James's reign.

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[1] Once to the Archduchess, and another time to a daughter of Savoy.

The States had borrowed great sums of money of Queen Elizabeth, and had delivered up the Brill and Flushing, with some other places of less note, to be kept by the English till the money was repaid. Soon after his coming to the crown of England, the King entered into secret treaties with the Spaniard, and, to compel the States to a peace, promised to deliver these places into his hand in case the other proved obstinate. The thing was known, and therefore, as soon as the truce was made, the States sent an offer to redeem the mortgage by repaying the money that England had lent. The offer was accepted without ever consulting the Parliament about it, the money paid, the places evacuated, and the great keys of Holland and Zealand given up for what amounted to no more than a few presents among his servants and favourites. But there is a nearer instance than this.

The Crown had a great estate over all England, which was let out upon leases for years, and a small rent reserved. By this means most great families were tenants to the Crown, and many great boroughs depended on the estates so held. The renewal of these leases brought in fines, and the fear of being denied such renewal kept all in dependence on the Crown. The King obtained of his Parliament a power of granting—*i. e.* of selling—those estates for ever, with a reserve of the old quit-rent; so was the Crown stripped of its authority, and all the money raised by this means profusely squandered away.

His parting with the guardianship of wards (another branch of the regal authority), by which a dependence on the Crown was destroyed, and many families made a prey to the oppressions of exacting favourites, may deserve a milder censure, when it is considered in what a strange manner he dealt with one of the greatest men of that age—Sir Walter Raleigh. The first condemnation of him was very black, but the executing him after so many years, and after an employment that he himself had given him, was thought both barbarous and illegal. The whole business of the Earl of Somerset's rise and fall, of the Countess of Essex and Overbury, the putting the inferior persons to death for that infamous poisoning, and the sparing the principals, both the Earl of Somerset and his lady, are so odious and inhuman, that it quite sunk the reputation of a reign that, on many accounts, was exposed to contempt enough already.

In the latter end of this king's reign, the Duke of Buckingham treated him with such an air of insolence, that he was minded to throw him off, and readmit the Earl of Somerset into favour. To this purpose, they met together one night in the gardens at Theobalds: the King embraced him tenderly, and with many tears; but though there were no more than two bedchamber-men privy to the interview, yet the Earl of Somerset believed that the secret was not well kept, for soon after the King was taken ill with some fits of an ague, and died of it, not without some suspicion of ill practice in the matter. But however that be, it is certain that no king could die less lamented or less esteemed than he was. He sunk the credit of the bishops in Scotland, and his reign in England was one continued course of mean practices. The great figure that the Crown of England made in Queen Elizabeth's days was so eclipsed, if not totally darkened in his, that he became the scorn and derision of the age; and, while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favourites, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the corruption, of Spain.

When King Charles succeeded to the crown, he resolved to carry on two designs that his father had set on foot, but let the prosecution of them fall: the recovery of the tithes and Church lands, and the full establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland.

In the execution of the first of these, the two great families of Hamilton and Lennox led the way; for the former sold to the King the Abbey of Arbroath, and the latter the Lordship of Glasgow; and all who pretended to any favour at Court offered at first to do the same. But when, in the third year of this reign, the Earl of Nithsdale was sent down with a power to take the surrender of Church lands, and to assure all who were willing to surrender that the King would use them well, but proceed with the utmost rigour against those who refused to submit their rights to his disposal, the ferment on this occasion grew so high, that the Earl looked upon the service as a little too desperate, and so returned to Court, without ever opening his full instructions.

In the year 1633 the King came down in person, and was crowned with such an expensive magnificence as proved detrimental to the country. Matters in Parliament, while he stayed, were carried with a high hand, and some in such an arbitrary manner that a petition was drawn up, to be signed by the Lords, and by them offered to the King, setting forth their grievances, and praying for redress. That design, however, was laid aside for the present, and the petition left in the Lord Balmerinoch's hand; but it was not so cautiously kept but that Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, got a sight of it, and immediately went to London, beginning his journey, as he often did, on Sunday, which in that country is a very odious thing.

There are laws in Scotland that make it capital to spread lies of the King or his government, or to alienate his subjects from him; it is likewise capital to know of any that do so, and not discover them; but this last was never once put in execution. The petition was thought to be within this act; so an order was sent down for committing Lord Balmerinoch, and soon after a special commission for his trial. He made a very good defence for himself, and there were warm debates on both sides; but when it came to the vote, seven of the jury (there called assize) acquitted, but eight cast him; so sentence was given. The clamours and menaces of the people upon this occasion, either to force the prison and set him at liberty, or to revenge his death upon those who had condemned him, were so loud that the Earl of Traquair, who had been the great manager in the trial against him, advised the King against his execution, and procured his pardon, which the other accounted no manner of obligation, considering how much he had been injured in the prosecution. And indeed the violence of this proceeding was one thing that in a great measure ruined the King's affairs in Scotland.

The King's other design was to establish Episcopacy throughout Scotland, and a form of worship and discipline according to the model of the Church of England. To this end the bishops of Scotland fell a framing a Liturgy and body of canons, which were never examined in any public assembly of the clergy; but all was managed by three or four aspiring bishops —Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, Sydserf of Galloway, Whitford of Dunblane, and Banautine of Aberdeen. And these, without any further consult or approbation, were in several dioceses enforced with such rigour and severity as savoured of an Inquisition.

But I go no further in opening the beginnings of the troubles of Scotland. This only I may be allowed to observe in the whole, that the provocations of the administration must needs be very great when they drew such a vehement and universal concurrence against it.

After the first pacification, and when new disputes arose, the Earls of Loudoun and Dunfermline were sent up with a petition from the Covenanters. The Lord Saville came to them, and informed them how highly the King was incensed against them, and took some pains to persuade them to come with their army into England, showing them an engagement under the hands of the most considerable men of the nation, as he pretended, to join and assist them when they came; but this proved to be his own forgery.

The men of the greatest confidence with the Covenanters at that time were the Earl of Rothes, the Earl of Argyll, and one Mr. Warriston. The Earl of Rothes was a man of pleasure, but of a most obliging behaviour; he had all the arts of making himself popular, only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his course of life. The Earl of Argyll was a more solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety. Warriston was a man o great application to business; he had a fruitful imagination a happy memory, and a great fluency of speech upon all occasions; but his notions about the sacredness of the Covenan and the efficacy of his own long-winded prayers were entirely wild and extravagant.

Having these abettors and encouragements to go, the Scots began their march into England with a very sorry equipage. Every soldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal, and they had a drove of cattle with them for their food. They had likewise an invention of iron guns tinned, and done about with leather, and so corded withal that they could serve for two or three discharges. These were light, and carried on horses, and when they came to Newburn, the English that defended the ford were so surprised with the discharge of their artillery, that some thought it magic, all were put in disorder, and the whole army fled with such a violent precipitation, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, who then commanded in it, did not scruple to own that till he passed the Tees his legs trembled under him. The Scots, upon this defeat, became masters of a great part of the north, and the King's affairs were reduced to great perplexity. His treasure was gone, his subjects were irritated, and his ministry all frightened, as exposed to the anger and justice of the Parliament; so that he had brought himself into great straits, but had not the dexterity to extricate himself out of them. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither skill to conduct them, nor height of genius to manage them. He hated all who offered prudent and moderate counsels, as proceeding either from Republican principles, or a care to preserve themselves by sacrificing his authority; and even when he saw it necessary to follow such advices, yet he still hated those who gave them. The Queen, on the other hand, was a woman of great vivacity in conversation, and loved, all her life long, to be in intrigues of all sorts, but was not so secret in them as such times and such affairs required. She was a woman of no manner of judgment; she was bad at contrivance, but much worse in the execution, but by the liveliness of her discourse she made always a great impression upon the King; and to her little practices, as well as to the King's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing. But these are what I mean not to pursue; they are fully related by other historians; and my purpose is only to make mention of those things that are not to be met with elsewhere.

The Kirk was now settled in Scotland with a new mixture of ruling elders, who at first were some of the chief gentry of the nation; but the ministers, finding these not so pliant to their purposes, brought inferior people, who depended more on them, into their eldership, and so gained a majority. Their manner was to have Synods of their clergy in one or more counties twice a year, and a General Assembly once a year. This Assembly, at their parting, named a certain body of men, called the Commission of the Kirk, who were to sit in the intervals to prepare matters for the next Assembly, to take care of the concerns of the Church, and to inspect the proceedings of the State, so far as they related to religion. By this means they became terrible to all their enemies. In their sermons, and chiefly in their prayers, all that passed in the State was canvassed: men were in a manner named, and either recommended or complained of to God, as they were acceptable or unacceptable to them. This humour was first taken up when the King and Bishops were the popular themes, but it soon ran into such a petulant licentiousness as could not be restrained. Henderson and Douglas were men of the best temper and most gravity among them; the rest were much of the same make. They affected all great sublimities in devotion, and poured themselves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and oftentimes with abundance of tears. Their stock of learning was but small—something of Hebrew and a very little Greek: books of controversy with Papists, but more especially with Arminians, were the height of their study. Their method of preaching ran in the common road of doctrine, reason, and use; but in their manner of initiating young divines there was something singular. What they recommended to their reading was usually some German systems, some commentators on the Scripture, books of controversy, and practical books. When they had made their round in these, they were not suffered to preach as expectants (so they called them) till after a trial or two before the ministers alone: then two or three sermons were to be preached in public, some more learnedly, some more practically; a head of divinity was next to be common-placed in Latin, and the person to maintain a thesis upon it; after that came his trial in Greek and Hebrew, and Scripture chronology; and last of all his questionary trial, wherein every minister was at liberty to ask him what questions he pleased. When all this was passed through with approbation, the person was allowed to preach when invited; and when he was called or presented to a church, he was to go through a new set of the same trials, by which means, though they had no men of very great learning among them, they had very few who could be called ignorant.

To this description of the constitution of the Kirk and its members we may add their great rigour in forcing all people to take the Covenant, whereupon the greatest part of the Episcopal clergy, among whom were two bishops, came and renounced their former principles, and desired to be received into their body; their great pains to maintain their authority among the people; their laboriousness in their vocation; their strictness of piety and good life: all which was lost in the wars, when a fierceness of temper, a copiousness of long sermons, and much longer prayers, and a grace before and after meat of a full hour's continuance, came to be the chief distinction of the party.

When the war broke out in England, the Scots had a great mind to go into it, promising themselves great advantages thereby. The Duke of Hamilton was at that time entrusted with the King's affairs, and had powers to make large offers, if he could but engage them on the King's side. Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland were to be united to Scotland; Newcastle to be the seat of government; the Prince of Wales to hold his Court always among them; the King every third year to visit them; and every office in his household in the third turn to be given to a Scotchman. But it was impossible to bribe them into the King's quarrel—the bent of the nation was quite another way; and therefore another course was resolved on by those who favoured the King—viz., to fall in with the inclinations of the people for war, thereby to procure to themselves and their friends the chief commissions; hoping that when the army was in England, and separate from the rest of the kingdom, it might be easier to gain it over to the King's service than it was then to work upon the whole nation.

This policy might have taken, had not some accidents quite changed the face of affairs. The Earl of Montrose, a young man well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the part of a hero too much, made some offers to the Duke of Hamilton for the King's service, which, by reason of their impracticableness, were rejected. Upon this he came to Oxford, and complained to the King of the treachery of the Hamiltons, and how easily Scotland might have been secured, had but his propositions been entertained. He was a bold man, and full of undertakings; so the King gave him what powers he desired, and sent him down into Scotland to manage for him in the room of the Duke of Hamilton. He went into the Highlands, and, with his own forces, joined himself to a great body of Macdonalds, who were come out of Ireland to recover Cantire, a county in the Highlands, which the Argyll family had driven them out of fifty years before. The Scots at that time had two armies, one in England, and another in Ireland, but they thought it not necessary to call either home; so they raised a tumultuary one on a sudden, and put it under the command of some who were remarkable for their want of courage, and of others that were well-wishers to the contrary side. Montrose's men were desperate, they met with small resistance, and so this army of the Covenanters was easily routed: the Marquis had but three horses and one round of powder before, but after this action he was better provided with both. From this time he began to make a figure; and his successes the next year were very considerable. But they had this mischievous effect, that they elated him above measure, and proved, eventually at least, the ruin of his master's cause. The King was before inclinable to peace, and willing to accept it, even upon the hard conditions that were offered by the Parliament; he saw the decline of his own affairs apace, and how impossible it would be to continue the war another year, when the news of the Lord Montrose's great success, the strength he already had, and his growing hopes for the next year, made him change his resolution, and prevailed with him to think that his affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat upon better terms; and this unhappily occasioned the limitation he put upon those he sent to Uxbridge, which made the whole design of that treaty miscarry.

All this while the Marquis of Montrose had made himself master of no strong places, nor formed any regular scheme how to fix his conquests. The Highlanders were better plunderers than fighters, and, as soon as they had got as much as they could carry away, made no scruple to desert. The Macdonalds went to regain their possessions, and revenge themselves upon the Argyll family. The Marquis, however, thought that his name would do all, and bear down everything before it. But he found his mistake; for, while he was vaunting over his conquests from Dan even to Beersheba, and inviting his royal master to come down and take the city, lest it should happen to be called by his name, he was miserably defeated, and his poor dispersed army was by the country-people, and at the instigation of their teachers, who called upon them not to spare, nor do the work of the Lord deceitfully, cruelly knocked on the head in cold blood.

But this was not the only ill effect of the Lord Montrose's success. It lost, as was said, the opportunity of Uxbridge; it alienated the Scots from the King; it exalted all those who were enemies to peace; and gave the world a suspicion (though very unjustly) of his abetting the Irish rebels, when they saw he very worst tribe of them employed in his service.

I say very unjustly, because, upon the best inquiry I could make into the Irish massacre and rebellion, it does not appear that the King was ever in the least accessory to either, though the Queen certainly kept a correspondence with Lord Antrim, one of the chief agents in that bloodshed, and was induced to hearken to the propositions made by the Irish; first, of taking the government of Ireland into their hands, which they thought they could compass, and then assisting the King to subdue the hot spirits at Westminster. This was all the design of that insurrection. The massacre was not intended at first; that was a thing they fell upon afterwards, and chiefly by the instigation of their priests.

In the year 1648, when the Parliament declared they would engage to rescue the King from his imprisonment, and the Parliament of England from the force it was put under by the army, all the nobility, except a very few, went into the design. The King had signed an engagement to make good to the nation his offers of the northern counties, with the other conditions above mentioned; and particular favours were promised to those that concurred in it. The Marquis of Argyll gave out that the Hamiltons had no sincere intentions to their cause, but that they were in a confederacy with the malignants in England, and engaged to serve the King on his own terms. This jealousy he spread among the people. Hereupon the General Assembly declared against it as an unlawful engagement, and the preachers laid out all their force to decry it, and oppose the levies all they could, by solemn denunciations of the wrath and curse of God on all that were concerned in it.

The south-west counties of Scotland have seldom corn enough to serve them the year round, and therefore they come to Leith in summer to buy; and from the word *whiggam*, used in driving their horses, they came to be called Whigamores, and for shortness, Whigs, which has been a name of distinction for those who opposed the Court, since transferred to England. Now, when the news came of the Duke of Hamilton's defeat, the ministers animated their people to rise, and at the head of their parishes they came marching up to Edinburgh with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way. This was called the Whigamores' inroad. The Marquis of Argyll with his party came and headed them; Cromwell assisted them; so that there was no withstanding them, and the Committee of the States was compelled to deliver up the government to them. As soon as they got into power, they declared all who had served or assisted in the engagement incapable of any employment till they had first satisfied the Kirk with the truth of their repentance, and made public professions of it. The churches were full with mock penitents on this occasion, and some, to gain more credit with the party, made their acknowledgment with plenty of tears. The Earl of Loudoun, who was Chancellor, was threatened by his wife, a strong Covenanter, and from whom he had his honour and estate, with a process of adultery, unless he would come over to her party; so he compounded the matter by deserting his friends, and in the church of Edinburgh made public profession of his change, confessing his weakness in yielding to the temptation of what had a show of honour and loyalty in it, for which he expressed a hearty sorrow.

Cromwell went down to Scotland to settle this new model; and the Parliament, in his absence, seeing the army at such a distance, began the Treaty of the Isle of Wight. Sir Henry Vane and some others who wanted a change in the government went to the treaty on purpose to delay matters till the army could be brought up to London; but those who wished well to the treaty prayed the King to despatch matters with all possible haste, and to make full concessions at once. The King, however, fancied that in this struggle between the House of Commons and the army he should at length find his account, and be enabled to obtain better terms; and thus the treaty went on with a fatal slowness, and, by the time it was come to any maturity, Cromwell came up with his army, and overturned all.

It was during this quarrel between the House of Commons and the army that Cromwell gave the world a specimen of his great dissimulation and hypocrisy. In a meeting of officers it was proposed to purge the army better, in order to know whom they might depend on. Cromwell said "he was sure of the army, but there was another body," naming the House of Commons, "that had more need of purging, and that the army only could do it." This was reported to the House by Grimston, and the witnesses attested it at the bar; whereupon Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence and great zeal for the service of the House. He submitted himself to God's providence, who thought fit to exercise him with slander and calumny, but his cause he committed to Him. This he did with great vehemence and many tears, after which he made a long speech, justifying himself and the rest of the officers, except a few, who seemed inclinable to return back to Egypt (as he called it), and so wrought upon the House that what the witnesses said was very little believed; and had the motion been made, it is very probable that both they and Grimston had been sent to the Tower. But no sooner was Cromwell out of the House than he resolved not to trust himself there again; so he went to the army, and thence treated the Parliament just as he pleased.

It was much about this time that Commissioners were sent from Scotland to protest against putting the King to death. They laid, indeed, a great load upon the King; but by a clause in the Covenant to which they had sworn, by the terms upon which Scotland had engaged in the war, and by the solemn declarations that they had so often published to the world, they were obliged, they said, to be faithful in the preservation of his Majesty's person. Cromwell undertook to answer them by showing "that a breach of trust in a King ought to be punished more than any other crime whatever; that they had sworn to the preservation of the King's person only in defence of the true religion; but that when the true religion was obstructed by the King, their oath was no farther obligatory; that the Covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment; and that those on whom public justice had been done (as in the matter of Montrose) were but small offenders in comparison; they acted by commission from the King, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty."

But notwithstanding all this declaration of himself, Cromwell was in some suspense about the King's death; Ireton was the man who drove it on, and found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments to manage it. He had indeed the principles and temper of a Cassius in him, and stuck at nothing that might have turned England into a commonwealth. Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes every day. The Presbyterians and the body of the city were utterly against it, and were everywhere fasting and praying for the King's preservation. The King's party was dispirited, but they never believed that his death was really intended till it was too late. The King himself showed a calm and composed firmness, which was more remarkable, because it was not natural, and therefore imputed to an extraordinary measure of Divine assistance. Bishop Juxon did the office of his function honestly, but too coldly to raise the King's thoughts; so that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself that he suffered so many indignities with so much true courage, without any show of disorder, or any sort of affectation. Thus he died, greater than he lived, and verified what has been observed of the whole race of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity.

His reign, both in peace and war, was a continual series of errors, so that his judgment could hardly be good. He was out of measure set upon following his own humour, but was unreasonably feeble to those he trusted. His notion of regal power was carried too high, and every opposition to it he thought rebellion. He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in drawing a paper than in fighting a battle. He had a firm aversion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, whereby he lost the one, without gaining the other.

What made his character suffer much in the opinion of foreign Protestants was his engaging the Duke of Rohan in the war of Rochelle and then not assisting him, and his discovering the design of making the Spanish Netherlands a commonwealth. The Duke of Buckingham had a secret conversation with the Queen of France, for which he was ordered immediately to leave the Court. When he came home, he prevailed with the King to enter into a treaty with the Duke of Rohan about raising an insurrection in France. The war was resolved on, in which the share that our Court had is well enough known; but the infamous part was, that Cardinal Richelieu prevailed with that easy king to engage his wife to write the Duke an obliging letter, giving him assurance that, if he would let Rochelle fall without assistance, he should have leave to come over and settle the whole matter of religion according to their edicts. Upon this the Duke made that shameful campaign of the Isle of Rhé; but, as he found himself deluded with a false hope, he was going next year to prosecute the war with more vigour, when Felton stabbed him.

The other thing wherein the King's conduct was equally blamed was in the matter of the Spanish Netherlands. When Isabella Clara Eugenia grew old, some of her Council, foreseeing the misery of falling into the hands of the Spaniard again, formed the design of making themselves a free commonwealth, and, to that end, of entering into a perpetual alliance with the States of the United Provinces. This they communicated to Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange, who thought that the King of England's concurrence was necessary, and, upon the promise of absolute secrecy, imparted the whole to him. But the secret was ill kept. By some means or other the Court of Brussels had an account of it; whereupon one minister lost his head, and the others, taking the alarm betimes, made their escape into Holland. After this the Prince of Orange had no commerce with our Court, and often lamented the unhappy loss of so great a design.

The King's death had an effect quite contrary to what his enemies expected. Lord Strafford's suffering raised his character, and cast a lasting odium upon that way of proceeding. Archbishop Laud was a learned, sincere, and zealous man, regular in his own life and humble in his private deportment; but he was very hot and indiscreet, and too eager in pursuing some matters of very small moment. His setting the communion-table to the east, bowing to it, and calling it an altar; his suppressing the Walloons' privileges, leaving off lectures, and encouraging sports on the Lord's day; his severity in the Star Chamber and in the High Commission Court; and above all, his violent and outrageous prosecution of Bishop Williams, were such visible blemishes as nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner could hide. His diary shows him to be an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and a superstitious regarder of dreams. His defence of himself is a mean performance, and the arguments he produces for his justification are weak and delusory; and yet his learning, wisdom, and great abilities are extolled by some men, and his notions are become the standard of true orthodoxy ever since.

The like effect ensued on the death of King Charles, whose serious and Christian deportment in it made all his former errors forgotten, and raised a compassionate regard to him, and a lasting hatred to the contrivers of it.

What contributed not a little to his credit and the estimation of his memory was a book entitled Ἐικὼν Βασιλικὴ, which was published soon after, and universally believed to be his. There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought, with a greatness of style, that made it be looked upon as a masterpiece in the English tongue; and the piety of the prayers in it incensed mankind against the murderers of a prince who thought so seriously of all his affairs in his meditations before God. The goodness of the book has occasioned much disputing about the author of it. The work, as I said at first, was generally believed to be the King's, and some who lived in those days assure us that they have heard from the King's own mouth several periods occurring in the book; but if the testimony of King James II. may in this case be received, the book was written by Dr. Gauden, and carried down by the Earl of Southampton to the King, during the Treaty of Newport, who read and approved it as very well agreeing to his sentiments, and that the merit of this service was the true reason of Gauden's promotion, notwithstanding the strong opposition that was made against him, and yet it is very strange that all Gauden's other works are written with so small a force in comparison of this, and so little similitude of style, that no one upon that account would judge him the author of this incomparable piece.

After the death of King Charles, the Scots proclaimed his son King, and sent Sir George Winram to treat with him while he was in the isle of Jersey. The person then in greatest favour with the King was the Duke of Buckingham, a man wholly given up to mirth and pleasure; he had the art of turning persons and things into ridicule above all men of the age, and by that means possessed the young King with very ill principles both as to religion and morality, and no very honourable opinion of his father, whose stiffness he frequently made the subject of his raillery. At his instigation the King entered into a negotiation with the Scots; so the Hague was named for the place of the treaty, and two of the Chief Commissioners from Scotland were the Earls of Casillis and Lothian.

When the King came to the Hague, the Marquis of Montrose waited on him and undertook to restore him to his kingdoms by main force, if he would but give him power to act in his name, a reasonable supply of money, and a letter to the King of Denmark to furnish him with a ship and such arms as he could spare. He had what he requested, and arrived in the Highlands, but was able to perform nothing of what he had undertaken. At last he was betrayed by one Macleod of Assynt, whom he had trusted, brought to Edinburgh, carried through the streets with all the infamy that brutal men could contrive, and in a few days hanged on a high gibbet, and his head and quarters set up in divers places in the kingdom. His behaviour under all that barbarous usage, which he looked upon with a noble scorn, was great and firm to the last. The cruelty of his enemies raised horror in all sober people, and the triumphs that the preachers made upon this occasion rendered them odious, and contributed to make his hard fate more pitied and lamented. All this while the treaty went on at the Hague (for the King could not be prevailed upon to send the Commissioners away upon this cruelty to a person who acted by his authority), and was soon concluded, upon the hard condition of the King's taking the Covenant himself, and suffering none about him but who did the same.

When the King came to Scotland (for the Prince of Orange sent him home with a Dutch fleet, and all the money and arms that his credit could procure him) the Marquis of Argyll was then in absolute credit, and the Duke of Buckingham took all the ways imaginable (except the amendment of his own dissolute life) to gain him and the ministers who depended on him. The King, too, wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could, hearing many prayers and sermons, and sometimes very long ones; but the mischief was, if at any time he chanced to break into any gay diversions, he was sure to be reproved for it, and sometimes with so much rigour and indiscretion as was a great means to beget in him an aversion to all sorts of strictness in religion. He was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays. The Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and all who were his father's friends, were ordered to keep at a distance from him; and because the common people showed some affection for him, the crowds that pressed to see him were kept off from coming near him.

While the King was treated at this rude rate, Cromwell, with his army, was in Scotland, obstructing the motions that were making in his favour; but on the approach of the Scots, who were much superior in number, he was forced to retire towards Dunbar, where his ships and provisions lay. Here it was that Cromwell was in great distress, and gave himself up for lost. The Scots were posted on a hill, where there was no attacking them; there was no marching to Berwick, the ground was too narrow—no going back into the country without separating from his ships and starving his army; he had not above three days' forage for his horses, so his resolution was to kill them, and put the army on board, and to sail to Newcastle. In this perplexity he called his officers together to seek the Lord, as the style then was, and at that time pretended to have received such an answer to his prayer as gave him assurance of victory. Leslie commanded the Scotch army, but he had a Committee of the States, among whom Warriston was one, to give him orders. These were weary of lying so long in the fields, and called upon their general daily to fall on and destroy those sectaries, as they called them; and with their instigations, even against his own opinion, he was forced to comply. The army was all the night employed in coming down the hill, and in the morning, before they could be put in order, Cromwell fell upon them, and routed them quite. There were but two regiments that stood their ground; the rest ran away shamefully, and left all their artillery and baggage a prey to the conqueror, who immediately advanced to Edinburgh, where he was received without opposition; and the castle, that might have made a long resistance, capitulated, so that all the southern part of Scotland was under his control.

After this defeat a Parliament was called, that sat sometimes at Stirling (which was the advanced garrison of the King's side) and sometimes at Johnston, and a question was proposed, both to the Committee of the States and to the Commissioners of the Kirk, whether in this extremity those who had made the defection, or heretofore had been too backward in the work, might not, upon the profession of their repentance, be received into public trust, and admitted to serve in defence of their country; and it was resolved that upon the profession of their repentance they might.

This occasioned a great division in the Kirk: those who had adhered to this determination were called Public Resolutioners, and those who opposed it Protesters. When this resolution and protestation were passed, a great many people of the western counties met and formed an association apart both against the army of sectaries and against this new defection of the Kirk. They drew up a Remonstrance, wherein were contained many bitter and invidious things against the King, and a desire at last that he might be excluded from having any share in the administration of the government. The Remonstrance was rejected with some indignation as divisive, factious, and scandalous; but then, to satisfy in some measure those who sent it, the King was prevailed on (but with very much reluctance) to publish a Declaration of a very odd contexture. He owned the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, and acknowledged that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his door. He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and confessed that all the former part of his life had been a course of enmity to the work of God. He repented of his commission given to Montrose, and of everything he had done that gave offence; and then, with some solemn protestations, affirmed that he was now sincere in his Declaration, and would abide by it to the end of his life. But when this was published it gave no satisfaction, because neither side believed that he spoke the sentiments of his heart. These impositions upon the King made him very uneasy, so that he fled away by night to a party of old Cavaliers not far from Dundee, who had promised to protect him; and though he was prevailed on to come back again, yet his going away had this good effect, that it procured him better treatment for the future. On the 1st of January he was crowned, and again renewed the Covenant, after which time all people were admitted to come to him, and to serve in the army; so that as the summer came on, and when all the forces he expected were come to him, he resolved to march into England.

When Cromwell followed the King into England, he left Monk in Scotland with an army sufficient to reduce the rest of the kingdom, which was easily done, because no place in the Low Countries made any resistance except Dundee, which, after some days' siege, was taken by storm, wherein much blood was shed, and the town severely plundered. But in the year 1653 a body of the nobility who were zealous for the King went into the Highlands and declared for him. The Earl of Glencairn, a grave and sober man, engaged the family of the Macdonalds; the Earl of Balcarres, a virtuous and knowing man, but somewhat too morose in his humour, joined them; and the Lord Lorn, son of the Marquis of Argyll, who had retired into his country when the King went into England, came with about a thousand men, but was a little suspected upon his father's account.

Among others, there was one Sir Robert Murray, who had served some time in France with great reputation: he was a man universally beloved and esteemed. In the midst of armies and courts, he spent many hours every day in devotion, had gone through the easy parts of the mathematics, and knew the history of nature exceedingly well. He was afterwards the original institutor of the Royal Society, its first president, and while he lived, the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper that nothing could alter, a most diffusive love of all mankind, a superiority of genius and comprehension, and one of the plainest, and withal the softest, way of reproving people for their faults, that was ever known. His credit with the army was very great, till the Lord Glencairn, by help of a forged letter from Antwerp, that gave some account of a bargain Sir Robert had made with Monk for killing the King, endeavoured to ruin it, and expose him to the fury of an enraged multitude. Hereupon the Earl of Balcarres left the Highlands, and went to the King, to persuade him to send a military man over, as the most proper to command that body. Middleton, a gallant and good officer, who had been taken at Worcester fight, and made his escape out of the Tower, was sent; and soon after the King was invited to come among them, but in the end of the year 1654 they were routed and dispersed.

After this the kingdom was kept in good order during the rest of the usurpation. Strict discipline was observed in the army, justice was administered, and vice punished. Garrisons were put into some castles in the Highlands, which were a bridle upon the unruly inhabitants; a considerable force, of about seven or eight thousand men, was kept in Scotland; and the pay of the army, which was very regular, brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the while, as to its civil administration, in a flourishing condition.

But matters in the Church went not on so well. A General Assembly was in course of meeting, and sat at St. Andrews; so the Commission of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Presbyteries, complaining of the Protesters, and desiring them to choose none of that party to represent them in the next General Assembly. This was looked upon as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings. Hereupon warm debates arose; but as they were ready to break out into censures on both sides, commissioners were sent down from the Commonwealth of England to settle Scotland. Some of these were for using means to unite the two parties; but Sir Henry Vane moved that they might be left at liberty to fight out their own quarrels, and so be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority when both sides were obliged to appeal to it.

This advice was followed, and so the division went on. The Protesters were fewer, but they made up in fierceness what they wanted in number. They had more of the Government's countenance, because their principles were more agreeable to what prevailed in the army; and they came readily into the injunction of not praying for the King, which the others did not without some hesitation. They spared no pains likewise to make themselves popular. They preached often and long, and seemed to carry their devotions to a greater sublimity than others did. But, above all, their chief singularity lay in their communions. On the Wednesday before, they held a fast-day, with prayers and sermons about eight or ten hours long. On the Saturday there were two or three preparation sermons, and on Sunday they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places, and all ended with three or four sermons on Monday for thanksgiving. To this solemnity a great many ministers came from several parts. Crowds were so great that no churches could contain them, or voices reach them; so that at the same time they had sermons in two or three different places, and all was performed with a great show of zeal and sanctity. The Resolutioners tried to imitate them in these actions, but could not come up to their perfection. They were not accounted so spiritual, nor had they so many followers.

These emulations and disputes proceeded at length to censures and deprivations, according as each side had the majority These censures drew on appeals to the Privy Council that Cromwell had set up in Scotland, and that Council remitted them to Cromwell himself; whereupon both parties sent up their deputies to London. The Protesters went in great numbers, but the Resolutioners sent up in their name one Sharp, who had lived long in England, an active and eager man, zealous for Presbytery, and who had an acquaintance with the ministers in London, whom Cromwell, at that time intending to make himself king, was courting much, by reason of thei credit in the City. And this will lead me to mention some particulars relating to Cromwell's great address and management of affairs that are not recorded in other histories.

When Cromwell first assumed the government, he had three great parties in the nation against him—the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican party. From the Episcopa or Cavalier party he was afraid of assassination and othe plottings. To prevent the former, he was wont to declare ofte and openly that assassinations were such detestable things tha he would never begin them, but if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family; and for this he pretended he had instruments ready whenever he pleased, and by the terror of this he was better secured than by his guards. That their plottings against him might do him no harm, he prevailed on Sir Richard Willis (who was Chancellor Hyde's great confidant, and to whom the designs of the whole party were communicated), by bribery and false pretences, to let him know all the plots that were on foot, only to disconcert them so, as he said, that none of the party, for whom he pretended to have a great regard and tenderness, might suffer by them. For this piece of service he offered Willis what money he would have, but Willis durst take no more than about two hundred pounds a year.

This was so true that after Cromwell's death Willis continued the same practice of giving intelligence of everything to his secretary, Thurlow; and to complete his perfidy, when there was a design among the Cavaliers of a general insurrection, and the King desired to come over, he laid a snare for him that had probably taken effect had not Morland, Thurlow's under-secretary, discovered the correspondence between Thurlow and Willis, and warned the King of his danger.

Cromwell's way of gaining the Presbyterians was by protecting them against the fury of the Republicans (many of whom, being now turned deists, were for destroying all clergymen, pulling down churches, discharging the tithes, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either settlement or restraint), and by assuring them that he intended to maintain a public ministry with all due encouragement; and the Republican party he studied to divide among themselves by setting the Fifth Monarchy men and other enthusiasts against those who pretended to have little or no religion, and who acted only upon the principles of civil liberty.

When he came to take upon him the sovereign power, it was no easy matter for him to satisfy the enthusiasts of his good intentions; but his way was to tell them (not without some tears) "that though greatness was his aversion, yet at that time it was necessary to prevent the common enemy and preserve the nation from distraction; that he therefore stepped in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, till God should direct them to a happy establishment of things; and that, when *that* once came, he would lay down the heavy load of power with a joy equal to the grief and trouble wherewith he was then forced to sustain it." This discourse commonly ended in a long prayer. All this while the people were treated with great freedom in the terms of their old equality, and sent away at last with powerful notions of the Protector's humanity and self-denial. Thus he cajoled the enthusiasts, but the other Republicans he called heathens, and professed he could never manage them rightly, though his deep dissimulation carried matters very far with all sorts of people, considering the difficulties he met with him from his Parliaments.

Debates now began to run high for setting up a king. The great lawyers of the House were of opinion that no new government could be settled legally without one, and that men's lives and fortunes were precarious as things then stood, and that no warrants could be pleaded, no grants or sales valid, but what were confirmed by an act passed by King, Lords, and Commons; and therefore, how temporary soever they might make this institution, yet a king was at that time necessary to establish any form of government upon a legal bottom. This was made out beyond all contradiction; and though some who opposed the creation of a king seemed to name the lawful heir, if they must needs have one, yet the generality of the House pointed at the Protector, and the true reason that determined him to refuse that offer was this:—The day before the Parliament made him an offer of the kingship, Fleetwood and Desborough—who had married, one his daughter, and the other his sister—met him in the park, and, as the discourse turned upon the subject then in hand, they told him plainly "that as they could not serve him to set up the idol they had put down, and had sworn to keep down, so they would not engage in anything against him, but would retire and look on;" and hereupon they offered him their commissions, since they were resolved not to serve a king. This remonstrance, from persons so nearly related to him, and whose example, he feared, might have a fatal influence upon others, wrought so far upon him, that next morning he refused the title of a king, though he accepted the continuance of his Protectorship; but had he lived to have seen the debate resumed, it is generally believed he would not have refused it a second time.

His management with relation to foreign affairs was no less remarkable than what he practised at home. He made it a rule with himself to spare no cost for the procuration of intelligence abroad; and because the Jews, by reason of their negotiation of money in all countries, were excellently qualified for that purpose, he therefore brought over a company of them into England, and gave them leave, not so much out of a principle of toleration as to serve his own turn, to build themselves a synagogue; and it was by the intelligence of one of these, who came to him once in a poor and beggarly habit, that he intercepted a large sum of money that the Spaniards, who were then at war with him, sent in a Dutch man-of-war to pay their army in Flanders.

The greatest difficulty upon him in his foreign administration was which side to choose, France or Spain; for great application was made to him from both. Spain ordered their ambassador, a great and able man, Don Alonso de Cardenas, to compliment him, and to engage, in case he would join with them, that they would not make peace till he should recover Calais (which had been lost a hundred years to France) into the possession of England. The Prince of Condé likewise, who was then in hostility with France and supported by Spain, offered to turn Protestant, and, upon Cromwell's assisting him, to make a descent in Guienne, where he doubted not but that the Protestants would join him, and enable him so to distress France as to obtain for themselves and for England what conditions the Protector pleased to dictate. But that prince's pretensions, upon farther inquiry, were found to be ill-grounded and vain. Mazarin, on the other hand, endeavoured to outbid Spain by offering to assist Cromwell to take Dunkirk, then in the Spaniards' hands, and a place of much more importance than Calais, and at the same time threatened that, in case he did join Spain, an army of Huguenots, headed by the King or his brother, should make a descent on England, which at that time might be of dangerous consequence to him, considering how many enemies he had at home and how few friends.

This, indeed, was the thing that determined him to join with France: and in consequence of the treaty the King and his brother were dismissed the kingdom with many excuses, some money, and large promises of a constant supply, which were never meant to be performed.

Before the King left Paris he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion it is not yet known, only Cardinal de Retz was in the secret, and Lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. The Duke of York was not at that time converted, for it was later than this when the nun's advice in a monastery in Flanders, desiring him to pray every day that if he was not in the right way God would bring him into it, made such an impression upon him that, as he said, it never left him till he changed. The two brothers at first retired to Cologne; but when the Spaniards found they could not gain Cromwell, they were invited to Brussels, where great appointments were settled for their maintenance, though very little was performed, and the subjects of the three kingdoms invited to serve under them, though few came, except from Ireland, and of these some regiments were formed.

Before Cromwell had perfectly joined France, and was as it were balancing in his mind which side to take, upon the information of one Gage, how weak and how wealthy the Spaniards were in the West Indies, he concluded that it would be both a great and an easy conquest to seize on their dominions, and thereupon he equipped a fleet with a force sufficient, as he thought, to have taken Cuba and Hispaniola, whereupon the conquest of the whole was supposed to depend. He miscarried, however, in the enterprise; and though the fleet took Jamaica, yet that was thought but a small acquisition in comparison with the main design, though much magnified to cover the disgrace of failing in the other. The war after that broke out, in which Dunkirk was indeed taken and put into Cromwell's hand; but trade suffering more in that than in any former war, he lost the heart of the city of London to a great degree.

During his administration there were two signal occasions given him to show his zeal in protecting the Protestants, which advanced his character abroad. The Duke of Savoy raised a new persecution of the Vaudois; whereupon Cromwell sent to the French Court, demanding of them to oblige that duke, whom he knew to be in their power, to put a stop to his unjust fury, or otherwise he would break with them; and accordingly a stop was put to the persecution, and reparations from England made to the poor people for what they had suffered in it. At another time there happened a tumult at Nismes, wherein some disorder had been committed by the Huguenots. They, being apprehensive of severe proceedings upon it, sent over one with great expedition to Cromwell to desire his intercession, and he, in an hour's time, despatched the messenger with a very effectual letter to his ambassador, requiring him either to prevail for a total immunity of that misdemeanour or immediately to come away. His ambassador at that time was Lockhart, a Scotchman, who had married Cromwell's niece, and was in great favour with him; he was at the same time

Governor of Dunkirk, a wise and gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one who carried the generosities of friendship very far. At his application the disorder was overlooked, and though the French Court complained of this way of proceeding as a little too imperious, yet the necessity of their affairs made them comply.

There was a further design very advantageous to the Protestant cause, wherewith Cromwell intended to have begun his kingship, had he taken it upon him, and that was the instituting a Council for the Protestant Religion in opposition to the Congregation de Propagandâ Fide at Rome. This body was to consist of seven councillors and four secretaries for different provinces. The secretaries were to have five hundred pounds salary apiece to keep correspondence everywhere; ten thousand pounds a year was to be a fund for ordinary emergencies; farther supplies were to be provided as occasion required; and Chelsea College, then an old decayed building, was to be fitted up for their reception. This was a great design, but how far he would have pursued it is left to conjecture.

To conclude his character and other actions, though he affected to do many things grateful, yet he never could shake off the roughness of his education and temper. He spoke always long and very ungracefully, and the enthusiast and dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his deportment that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character. One standing principle he had—viz., that moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but that upon extraordinary ones they might be superseded; so that when his own designs, or anything extraordinary did not lead him out of the way, he was a great lover of justice and virtue, but upon the interposition of anything of this nature he fell into all the practices of the vilest falsehood and cruelty. What he showed his good understanding in was his seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, and more especially for the courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction; and that wherein he gratified the vanity which is natural to Englishmen was his maintaining the honour and dignity of the nation in all foreign countries. For this reason, though he himself was no crowned head, he would have his ministers, he said, treated with the same respect that king's ambassadors were; and when Blake, upon some ill-usage to his seamen at Malaga, sent a trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the priest who was the chief instrument of it, or otherwise within three hours he would beat down the town, he was so pleased with his conduct that he mentioned it in Council with great satisfaction, and said he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.

The truth is, his own name was become formidable everywhere. His favourite alliance was with Sweden, for Charles X. (Gustavus) and he lived in great conjunction of counsels; but the States of Holland were in such a dread of him that they took care to give him no manner of umbrage, insomuch that when the King or his brother came at any time to visit their sister, the Princess Royal, a deputation of the States was instantly with them to let them know that there they could have no shelter. All Italy in like manner trembled at his name, and seemed to be under a panic fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the Mediterranean, and the Turks durst not offend him, but delivered up Hyde, the King's ambassador there, who was brought over and executed for assuming that character.

Thus he lived, and at last died on his auspicious 3rd of September, of so slight a sickness that his death was not expected; whereupon Goodwin, who but some minutes before had assured the people in a prayer that he was not to die, had now the impudence to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we are deceived." He had two sons and four daughters. His sons were weak but honest men. Richard, the eldest, was declared Protector in pursuance of a nomination pretended to be made by his father; and the city of London, as well as all the counties and cities in England, sent him addresses congratulatory as well as condoling. The Commonwealth party, however, cried out upon his assuming the Protectorship as a high usurpation; and when the Parliament met, though some attempts were made to have his title recognised, yet Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow, set up a council of officers, who were resolved to lay him aside, as having neither genius, nor friends, nor treasure, nor army to support him. When he saw this he withdrew very quietly, upon the promise of having his debts paid (which was never performed), and so became a private man. The other son had more spirit of the two, and by his father was made Lieutenant of Ireland; but he could not stand his ground when once his brother had quitted his authority. One daughter was married to Claypole, and died a little before himself; another to the Earl of Falconbridge; and a third to the Earl of Warwick's heir first, and afterwards to one Russell, both worthy persons.

Upon Richard's leaving the stage, the Commonwealth was again set up, and the Parliament, which Cromwell had dissolved, was again brought together. But the army and they fell into new disputes; so they were again broken by the army, and the nation, upon that, was likely to fall into so great convulsions, that many thought it necessary to call home the King in order to settle things in their old channel.

Lambert was the man who had the chief sway in the army; and, upon his forcing the Parliament, great application was made to Monk, who was then in Scotland, to come up and oppose him. All this while Monk kept himself mightily upon the reserve, declaring only for the Parliament, and against any single person, particularly against the King; so that some imagined he meant to set up for himself, and others believed that he had no settled design any way, but intended only to act according as occasion should offer. As he came near the borders, Lord Fairfax in Yorkshire, with a hundred gentlemen and their servants, appeared in favour of his design; and so great a credit had this lord retained in the army, that the very night after a brigade of twelve hundred horse came over to him. Lambert, seeing this, resolved to march back to London; but in his retreat the army forsook him, and himself was taken prisoner and put in the Tower. Not long after he made his escape, and gathered some troops about him in Northamptonshire; but Ingoldsby, one of the King's judges, raised Buckinghamshire against him, took him prisoner again, and brought him to Northampton.

Upon the dispersing of Lambert's army, Monk marched southward. When he came into Yorkshire, he offered to resign the chief command to Lord Fairfax, but that lord refused it, and pressed him only to declare for a free Parliament, in which he found him so reserved, that he knew not well how to depend upon him. When he came up to London he was again pressed to declare himself; but at first he would only declare for the Parliament that Lambert had forced, there being then a great fermentation all over the nation, and no small jealousy between him and the Parliament, how highly soever they expressed their confidence in each other; for the Parliament soon after put him upon a very ungracious office, that of breaking down the gates of the city of London, on purpose to make him odious. But, so soon as he perceived his error, that very night he sent the City assurance that if they would but forgive it, he would make them ample amends; and the day following, when he was invited to dine at Guildhall, he declared for the secluded members, as those were then called who by the army were driven from the House in the year '47 and '48. Upon this occasion, some happening to call the body that then sat at Westminster but the rump of a Parliament, a sudden humour ran, like a madness, through the whole City, of roasting the rumps of all sorts of creatures, to express a derision and contempt of them. Upon this declaration, the secluded members met, but all they could do at present was to give orders for the summoning of a new Parliament on the 1st of May, and so declare themselves dissolved.

Care in the meantime was taken by Monk so to regulate the army, by mixing the well and ill affected together, by scattering them up and down in different quarters, and above all, by keeping no more troops (and those the best affected) than were necessary about the City, as to make it rather assistant than obstructive to the design then in hand. Admiral Montague, who had then the chief command at sea, was soon prevailed upon to be for the King, and dealt so effectually with the whole fleet as to make a general turn in it without any revolt or opposition. The temper of the people at this time, too, conspired not a little to the same end. The Republicans had lost their spirit and power; elections for members of Parliament ran everywhere against them, for enthusiasm was now evaporated, and the nation returning to its wits again. Chancellor Hyde, on the other hand, was all this while very busy, writing in the King's name, prevailing with the King to write several letters himself in a very obliging manner, and sending over Dr. Morley, who was more acceptable because he professed to be a Calvinist, to treat with the Presbyterians of moderation, in order to bring the King home.

When the new Parliament (afterwards called the Convention, because it was not summoned by the King's writ) met, such a unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the least dispute among them, except upon one single point. Hale, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, moved that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions which had been made, and the concessions that had been offered, by the late King during the war, that from thence they might digest such overtures as they should think fit to send over to the King. But, in answer to this, Monk told the House "that as there was yet, beyond all men's hopes, universal quiet throughout the kingdom, he could not answer for the peace either of the nation or army (considering the many incendiaries still on the watch, and ready to raise a flame) if any delay were put to the sending for the King; and therefore he moved that they would immediately appoint commissioners to bring him over, laying all the blame of the blood and mischief that might otherwise ensue on the heads of those who should still insist on any motion that might obstruct the present settlement of the nation." This was received with so general a shout and approbation of the House, that the debate was never resumed, and was, indeed, the great service that Monk did; for as to the Restoration itself, the tide ran so strong that he only went into it dexterously, to get himself much fame and great rewards, which he afterwards lived long enough to show how little he deserved.

Thus we have passed through the times of public ruin and confusion, and are now entering upon a more regular history, and a scene of action more delightful.

BOOK II

OF THE FIRST TWELVE YEARS OF THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES II.—FROM 1660 TO 1673

As soon as matters were fixed in Parliament for the King's restoration, every one was going over to make his court; and among the rest, one Sharp, by a letter of recommendation from the Earl of Glencairn to Hyde, soon after made Earl of Clarendon (as the only person capable of managing the affair of setting up Episcopacy in Scotland), was received into great confidence. This Sharp, as has been said before, had a long time been maintained in London by the Presbyterians in Scotland, who were called Resolutioners, as their agent; and had all along made solemn protestations both by word and letter, appeals to God for his sincerity in acting for Presbytery upon all occasions, and dreadful imprecations upon himself if he did prevaricate. This he had done so often, and to so many different persons, that when he came to throw off the mask, about a year after, his character for perfidy and dissimulation became detestable.

With the restoration of the King a spirit of extravagant joy overspread the nation, which was soon attended with all manner of profaneness and immorality. The hypocritical pretences of former times gave great advantages and matter enough to the mockers at religion; and some were so weak as to fall in with them, to avoid the more odious imputation of being hypocrites. Men's hearts were elated after their return from want; and riot and excess, under the colour of drinking the King's health, were made a compensation for what they had suffered under a state of much affliction.

The King was then thirty years of age, and past, one would think, the levities of youth and extravagances of pleasure. He had a good understanding, was well acquainted with the state of affairs both at home and abroad, and had an easy affability and softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, until they were made sensible how little his good looks, and kind words, and fair promises, wherein he was liberal to excess, were to be depended on. His apprehension was quick, and his imagination and memory good, which enabled him to tell stories with a good grace; but these being sometimes too long, and sometimes too often repeated, made him become an everlasting talker. His compass of knowledge was very considerable; for he understood physic and chemistry, mechanics and navigation well, and the architecture of a ship a little more exactly than what became a prince. His sense of religion was so very small that he did not so much as affect the hypocrite; but at prayers and sacraments let every one, by his negligent behaviour, see how little he thought himself concerned in these matters. His Popery he concealed to the last, but it would sometimes break out in the commendation of an infallible guide in matters of religion, and an implicit faith and submission in the people. His political notions were chiefly taken from the French Government; for a king that might be controlled or have his ministers called to an account by Parliament was, in his opinion, but a creature of the people and a king by name. His private opinion of people was very odd. He thought no man sincere, nor woman honest, out of principle; but that whenever they proved so, humour or vanity was at the bottom of it. No one, he fancied, served him out of love, and therefore he endeavoured to be quits with the world by loving others as little as he thought they loved him. But what was the ruin of his reign, and of all his affairs, was his giving himself up to a mad range of pleasures from the very first, and at a time that required his utmost application. His first and longest mistress was a Villiers, married to one Palmer, a Papist, soon after made Earl of Castlemaine; and she, when separated from him, was advanced to be Duchess of Cleveland[1]—a woman of great beauty, but enormously vicious and ravenous, foolish but imperious, very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, even while she pretended to be jealous of him. His passion for her, and her strange behaviour to him, disordered him so that he was oftentimes neither master of himself nor capable of business, and therefore committed the care of all to the management of the Earl of Clarendon.

The Earl of Clarendon was bred to the law, and grew eminent in that profession, as well as considerable in the House of Commons. When the war broke out, he followed the King's fortunes abroad, and returned an absolute favourite. He was a good minister, indefatigable in business, but a little too magisterial, and not well enough acquainted with foreign affairs. He was a good chancellor, and impartial in the administration of justice, but a little too rough. He had a levity in his wit, and a loftiness in his carriage, that did not well become the station he was in; for those who addressed to him, and those who thought themselves neglected, he was apt to reject with contempt and some disparagement of their services, which created him many enemies, and at last procured his fall.

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[1] By her he had five children.

The Duke of Ormond, next in favour with the King, was every way fitted for a Court; of a graceful appearance, a lively wit, and a cheerful temper; a man of great expense, but decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the form of religion: too faithful not to give always good advices, but when bad ones were followed too complaisant to be any great complainer. He had gone through many transactions with more fidelity than success, and in the siege of Dublin miscarried so far as to lessen the opinion of his military conduct; but his constant attendance on his master, his easiness to him and great sufferings for him, raised him to be Lord Steward of the Household and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Earl of Southampton was next to these—a man of great virtue and good parts, of a lively imagination and a sound judgment, who had merited much by his constant adherence to the King's interest during the war, and the large remittances he made him in his exile. He was made Lord Treasurer; but, by reason of his frequent affliction with the stone and uneasiness at the King's conduct, he retired from Court more than was consistent with that high post, and left the business of the Treasury wholly in the hands of his secretary, Sir Philip Warwick, a weak man, but so very honest and incorrupt that in the course of seven years he acquired to himself but a very moderate fortune out of that profitable employ.

The man who was in the greatest credit with the Earl of Southampton was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had married his niece, and was afterwards raised to be Earl of Shaftesbury; a man of popular eloquence, who could mix the facetious and the furious way of arguing very agreeably, and who had got the art of governing parties, and making himself the head of them, just as he pleased. His religion was that of the deist at the best; he had the dotage of astrology in him to a great degree, and fancied that our souls, after death, lived in stars. His learning was superficial—he understood little to the bottom;

but his vanity in setting himself out was ridiculous and disgusting. His reasoning was loose, his discourse rambling, and he had a better way of bantering or bearing down an argument than he had in supporting it. After all, his chief strength lay in knowing mankind, their understandings and tempers, and in applying himself to them so dexterously that though, by his changing sides so often, it was visible he was not to be depended upon—nay, though he himself was not ashamed to recount the many turns he had made, and to value himself upon them, yet he still could create a dependence, and make himself the centre of any discontented party.

Another man, much of the same stamp, and who passed through many great employments, was Annesley, afterwards created Earl of Anglesea; a man of grave deportment, strong application, and great knowledge, especially in the law, who understood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our constitution. He was an indefatigable but very ungraceful speaker, and too apt to forget that raillery, which he was always attempting, was no part of his talent; but, what was the worst in him, he stuck at nothing, and was ashamed of nothing, insomuch that he seemed to disregard common decencies; for he sold everything in his power, and himself, so oft, that at last the price fell so low that he grew useless and contemptible.

Hollis was a man of great courage, and as great pride, the head of the Presbyterian party for many years, and who, during the whole course of his life, never once changed his side. He had indeed the soul of an old stubborn Roman in him, was a faithful but a rough friend, and a severe but open enemy. His sense of religion was just, his course of life regular, and his judgment, when passion did not bias him, sound enough. He was well versed in the records of Parliament, and argued well, but too vehemently, for he could not bear any contradiction.

The Earl of Manchester was a man of no great depth, but of a soft obliging temper, and therefore universally beloved, because he was both virtuous and generous to a great degree. The Lord Roberts was sour and cynical; just in his administration, but vicious under the semblance of virtue; learned above any of his quality, but stiff and obstinate, proud and jealous, and every way intractable.

These last five, by reason of their great credit with the Presbyterian party, were powerful instruments in the Revolution, and were therefore advanced to posts of great trust by the Earl of Clarendon, though he suffered very much in the opinion of most of the Cavaliers by so doing.

At the King's first coming over, Monk and Montague were most considered: they both had the Garter, and noble estates given them; the one was made Duke of Albemarle, and the other Earl of Sandwich; but Albemarle, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible woman, became so exceeding ravenous, begging and selling everything within his reach, that he lost his credit everywhere, though the King, in acknowledgment of his services, showed him all the outward appearance of respect, at the same time that he despised him. He had two persons (besides his own kinsman, Sir John Greville, who thought of nothing but getting and spending money) who depended on him, and whom he raised. The one was Clarges, his wife's brother, an honest but haughty man, and who afterwards became considerable for his opposing the Court in Parliament, and his frugal management of the public money. The other was Morrice, who had first prevailed with him to declare for the King, and for that service was made Secretary of State: a very learned man, but full of pedantry and affectation, and no good judge about foreign affairs.

The other Secretary, equally unskilled in affairs abroad, was Nicholas, a man of great virtue, but unqualified to fall in with the King's humour, or to make himself acceptable to him, though he had served his father with great fidelity during the late war; and therefore Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was promoted to that office soon after the Revolution—a proud man, whose parts were solid, though not quick, and who had got the art of observing the King's temper, and of managing it, above all the men of that time. His great friend was Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, who, without any visible merit but that of managing the King's amours, and some generosity in his expense, was the most absolute of all his favourites. These two had the management of the King's mistress; and all who were enemies to the Earl of Clarendon, the chief of whom were the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Bristol, resorted to them.

The Earl of Bristol was a man of courage and learning, of a bold temper, and a lively wit; but he had no judgment or steadiness in him. He was counted a good speaker, but was too copious and too florid. During the war at Oxford he was in the Queen's interest; and when he went abroad he turned Papist, which set him at the head of that party.

The Duke of Buckingham had a noble presence, a great liveliness of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning anything into ridicule. He was devoid of all kind of literature, only he pretended to chemistry, and for some years fancied he was near the philosopher's stone. He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship; no truth or honour, no steadiness or conduct in him, and was therefore too fit an instrument to corrupt the King's notions and morals. He could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. Pleasure, and frolic, and extravagant diversion were indeed all he minded: by his eager pursuit of these he ruined one of the greatest estates in England, and perhaps one of the finest wits and finest personages that the world then knew, and became at last so contemptible and poor, so sickly and sunk in his parts, that he lived to see his conversation as much avoided as it was once courted.

These were the chief persons who composed the Court, and had the administration of public affairs committed to their hands. Those who sprang up in their room, or came upon the stage afterwards, as well as those who presided in the affairs of Scotland in particular, must be characterised in their proper places.

The King, as was said, when he came to the crown gave himself so totally to pleasures that he devolved the management of all his affairs to the Earl of Clarendon, who proceeded with great moderation, as unwilling to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, though he took care to have all things that were extorted from the Crown by the Long Parliament restored; the dispute of the power of the militia determined; and a revenue of £1,200,000 a year (more than ever king had before) allowed for the ordinary expenses of the Government.

While these things were in agitation, and the King scarce yet well seated on his throne, one Venner, a violent Fifth Monarchy man, got together some of the most furious of his party, well armed, but not above twenty in number, and ran into the streets, crying out, "No king but Christ;" and some of them were so mad as to believe that Christ would come down and head them. They scoured the streets before them, and killed many, while some were afraid and all amazed at this extravagance; but at last they were overpowered by numbers, and all either killed or taken and executed.

On this occasion some troops of guards were raised, and there was then much talk of forming such an army as migh inject terror, and prevent all such tumults for the future ; bu upon the Earl of Southampton's expostulation with Lord Clarendon, who represented the ill consequences of it to the King as destructive to the liberties of the subject, that design was laid aside; the army disbanded with great tokens of respect, as they were indeed a brave, a sober, and well-disciplined body and no more of them retained than what were necessary for the ornament and security of the King, and the preservation of the nation's peace, and these all recommended by Monk.

The regicides at this time were odious beyond all expression but when they came to die they appeared with such a firmness of mind, and show of piety, and seeming joy for suffering on that account, as abated the common indignation against them. The first who suffered was Harrison, a man of great resolution, but a fierce and bloody enthusiast, and who had offered to the army, if it was thought best to kill the King privately, to do it with his own hand. When he was brought to the place of execution he spoke boldly in vindication of what he had done, as the cause and the work of God, and underwent all the indignities and severities that were inflicted on him with a calmness, or rather a cheerfulness, that astonished the spectators. The only person among them who died dastardly was Hugh Peters, a very vicious man, but a sort of buffoon preacher, who had been serviceable to Cromwell on several accounts, and a fierce instigator of the King's death. He had neither honesty to repent of his sin, nor strength of mind to suffer for it as the rest had done, but was perpetually drinking some strong cordial liquors to keep up his spirits or make him insensible.

Among those who suffered on this occasion, one of principal note, and who was thought to have a little hard measure, was Sir Henry Vane. He had been all along for changing the constitution and deposing the King ; but when designs were carrying on to take his life he withdrew from the scene, and would not act. This was represented in his behalf to the King by both Houses of Parliament, and the King gave them, in general terms, a favourable answer ; but the great hand he had in subverting the Government before, and his great capacity to embroil matters again, made it convenient to have him out of the way. He was a man of dark notions in religion, inclinable to Origen's opinion of universal salvation, and the doctrine of pre-existence. The sect that he adjoined himself to were called "Seekers," as being satisfied with no form of opinion yet extant, but waiting for further discoveries; and in their meetings he used to pray and preach frequently, but in such an abstruse manner as few could understand. When he came to die (for he was beheaded on Tower Hill) some strains of a peculiar nature were expected in his speech, and therefore drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, upon the sign given them, when he came to speak of the Government, struck up their drums. This put him in no disorder, for he knew the meaning of it; he therefore went to his devotions, and as he was taking leave of his friends, with some observations upon the times, the drums struck up again; so he gave over, and died with more courage and composedness than was expected from his natural timidity.

What made his death not so well digested was an unaccountable clemency extended to some who were thought equally culpable, and deserving the same fate. Henry Martin, a vile and impious man, and who, even in his imprisonment, gave himself up to vice and blasphemy, gained friends by that means: and, upon that account, was said to be spared, though he had been a most violent enemy to monarchy all his life long. John Goodwin had not only justified but applauded the King's murder both in his sermons and books. John Milton had appeared with great boldness, but with equal wit and elegance, against Salmasius and others, upon the argument of the King's death, and had treated his royal person and family, and monarchy itself, with the utmost virulence and contempt; and yet neither of these was censured nor excepted out of the Act of Indemnity.

The truth is, that act passed with so very few exceptions that it gave a general disgust to the Cavaliers. They promised themselves some reparation for their losses out of the fines and confiscations of the estates of such as were busy agents in the late troubles; but when they saw the extent and comprehensiveness of the act, and themselves excluded from offices besides, they were not a little exasperated against the Earl of Clarendon, the supposed adviser of these things, and used sarcastically to say that the King had passed an Act of Oblivion for his friends, and of Indemnity for his enemies, because the title of it was an Act of Oblivion and Indemnity. Upon these discontents a design was laid, the next Parliament, of repealing this Act of Indemnity, and bringing in another; but the King, upon Lord

Clarendon's instances, absolutely rejected it as a thing incompatible with his own honour and his people's security.

While these things were transacted in the State, the affairs of the Church came likewise under consideration. Juxon was promoted to Canterbury, but more for decency, because he had assisted the late King in his last hours, than any capacity he had to fill that great post; for he was never in his life a great divine, and at that time was very much superannuated. Sheldon was first made Bishop of London, and upon Juxon's death translated to Canterbury. He had a great quickness of apprehension, a true judgment, a dexterity in business, and a pleasantness of conversation perhaps too great. He was very generous and charitable, and had got the art of treating all who came near him in the most obliging manner, but few depended on his professions of friendship. His learning had been esteemed before the wars, but it was then all lost in politics, and his sense of religion was not much, if any at all; for he used to speak of it as an engine of State, which gained him credit with the King as a wise and honest clergyman. The bishopric of Worcester was designed for Dr. Hammond, a man of great learning and most eminent merit, and who, in the worst of times, had maintained the cause of the Church with great constancy and moderation, studious to reform abuses, and to raise in the clergy a proper sense of their obligation; but he dying a little before the Restoration, Morley was nominated to that see, and not long after removed to Winchester, upon the death of Duppa, who had been the King's tutor, but no way competent for that charge: a meek and humble man, and much beloved for the sweetness of his temper; but he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him as was expected. Morley at first was known to the world as Lord Falkland's friend, and for many years continued Lord Clarendon's domestic chaplain. He was a pious and charitable man, very exemplary in his life, but extremely passionate, and not a little obstinate; a Calvinist in relation to the Arminian controversy, and before the wars a supposed friend to the Puritans, but of that he took care to clear himself abundantly when once he was promoted in the Church.

These were the bishops who, upon the Restoration, had the greatest credit at Court; and when matters came to be debated, the first point was whether concessions should be granted and pains taken to gain the Dissenters, especially the Presbyterians.

The King at first, by Lord Clarendon's persuasion, approved of the design; and accordingly published a Declaration soon after his coming concerning ecclesiastical affairs. But the bishops and their party knew that the Presbyterians were possessed of most of the greatest benefices in the Church, chiefly in the city of London and the two universities; that many of them had gone into the design of restoring the King with as much zeal and readiness as any; that they were men of great credit in several places, and very influential in the election of members of Parliament; and that some of them still retained their old leaven and confirmed animosity against the Church; and therefore, to divest them of their livings, as well as preclude them from any claim of merit or power of doing ill, they thought it advisable, instead of using any methods to bring them in, to apply the most effectual ones to keep them out of the bosom of the Church, and accordingly prevailed with the King to fix the terms of conformity on what they had been before the war, without making the least abatement or alteration.

A show of moderation, however, was still carried on, and soon after the Declaration was published a commission was granted to twelve of a side, with nine assistants to each side, to meet at the Savoy, and consider of means for uniting them in one communion. At their first meeting the Dissenters were desired, before they came to treat of particulars, to offer all at once the exceptions they had, and the alterations they required, and that in writing. Some were for insisting only upon a few important things, leaving the rest to be gained after the union; but Baxter, who was a man of great zeal, much simplicity, and a considerable share of learning, had he not meddled with too many things; a moving and pathetic writer, but too voluminous,[1] and most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in everything; he persuaded them that by the words of the Commission they were obliged to offer everything they thought might conduce to the good and peace of the Church, without any consideration how it might be taken. And thereupon they moved that Bishop Usher's Reduction[2] should be laid down as a ground-work to treat on, and that bishops should not govern their diocese by their single authority or by lay-officers in their courts, but take along with them the counsel and concurrence of their presbyters. They offered several exceptions against the Liturgy, against the many responses of the people, against the old translation of the Psalms, and against lessons taken out of apocryphal books. They found fault with many parts of the Office of Baptism that import the inward regeneration of all who were baptized, and insisted much against kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, against the sign of the cross in baptism, the institution of sponsors, the use of the surplice, and the observation of holy-days. And as they proposed these amendments, so they did also offer a Liturgy new drawn by Baxter.

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[1] He wrote nearly two hundred books, and three of them large folios. Of these, one hundred and sixty-eight are enumerated by Orme, in his Life of Baxter, prefixed to the complete edition of his works, published in 1830.

[2] "The Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of the Synodical Government in the Ancient Church," 1658.

The largeness of these demands raised a great outcry against them as people who could never be satisfied. At last the whole matter was reduced to this single point; viz., *whether it was lawful, in the worship of God, to impose things indifferent;* and upon this there was a free conference, that lasted some days.

The two persons who had the chief management of the debate, but the most unqualified to heal matters that could be thought on, were Baxter and Gunning, who was first made Bishop of Chester, and afterwards advanced to Ely. He was a man of great reading, knew all the arts of sophistry, and would upon every occasion make use of them as confidently as if they had been sound reasoning. Honest and sincere he was to a great degree; but, having no sound judgment or prudence in affairs, he was unweariedly active to very little purpose, and was so fond of reconciling us to the Church of Rome in some points, and of conforming us to the rules of the Primitive Church, even in the smallest rituals, that he gained the reputation of being a well-wisher to Popery without any just cause. He and Baxter, to the great diversion of the town, spent some days in logical wrangling, without settling one article of the dispute till the date of the commission was out; and the Conference broke up with complaints and accusations, as well as a large increase of bitterness on both sides; and the bishops, after this, were so far from relaxing anything, that they endeavoured to make the terms of conformity much stricter than they were before the war. For all the clergy, lecturers as well as incumbents, were obliged to subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all and every particular contained in the Book of Common

Prayer; they were to declare that the Covenant was in itself an unlawful oath; that it laid no obligation on them, or any other person, to endeavour any change or alteration in Church or State; and that to take up arms by the King's authority against his person was a traitorous position; nor was any one allowed to hold any ecclesiastical benefice who had not Episcopal ordination.

The Convocation had now revised the Book of Common Prayer, and made some alterations in the Liturgy. The Prayer for all Conditions of Men, the General Thanksgiving, and some new collects were added, particularly one for the Parliament, wherein the epithet of "religious" was added to the King's title, which gave some offence, and occasioned much indecent raillery. More lessons were taken out of the Apocrypha, particularly the story of Bel and the Dragon; more new holy-days, St. Barnabas and the conversion of St. Paul, were instituted; new offices for two new days, the 30th of January and the 29th of May, were composed; and the Declaration of the Reasons of our Kneeling at the Sacrament, which in Queen Elizabeth's time had been left out, reinserted. These alterations were offered to the King, who sent them to the House of Commons; and upon that the Act of Uniformity (that deprived all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the 24th of August, 1662, of their ecclesiastical benefices, without any provision for their subsistence) was prepared. The act passed with no great majority, and not without much opposition; but when the day came, the impression of the books went on so slowly, and the demand for them was so large, that few or none were to be had; so that many, who were too conscientious to subscribe to what they had never seen, left their livings upon that account. Reynolds accepted the bishopric of Norwich; but Calamy and Baxter refused Lichfield and Hereford. Many of their brethren suffered very much, and the number of them that fell under this parliamentary deprivation was, as they give out, about two thousand.

The clergy, being thus possessed of all the livings, had a fair opportunity of doing great and glorious things with this accession of great wealth. Almost all the leases of the Church estates were now fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The fines raised by renewing these leases amounted to a million and a half. In some sees forty or fifty thousand pounds were raised, but, instead of being converted to the use of the Church, it was applied to the enriching of the bishop's family. What the bishops did was a pattern to all lower dignitaries; and so the money that was everywhere raised by renewals was either laid out in purchases, or expended in luxury and high living; while the clergy themselves became lazy and negligent of their proper duties, leaving preaching and writing to others, and buried their parts in ease and sloth, insomuch that the credit of the Church had been quite extinct, had not a new set of men of a different stamp, who had their education chiefly in Cambridge, under Dr. Whichcote, Cudworth, Wilkins, Worthington, and More, rose up and become a great ornament to it.

Whichcote was a man of rare temper, very mild and obliging, and a great friend to liberty of conscience; for the credit he had with some who had been eminent in the late times he made no other use of than to protect good men of all persuasions. He was an enemy to the dry systematical way that was then in vogue, and a promoter of nobler thoughts; and therefore set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, and considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent by God to elevate and sweeten human nature. Cudworth carried this on with a great strength of genius, and a vast compass of learning: a man of much conduct and prudence, but what his enemies falsely called craft and dissimulation. Wilkins was first of Oxford, but removed to Cambridge, where he joined himself to those who made it their endeavour to take men off from narrow notions and superstitious conceits in matters of opinion. He was a great promoter of experimental philosophy; and though he had married Cromwell's sister, and was well in his favour, yet he made no other use of that alliance than to protect the university and do good offices; for he was a lover of mankind, and delighted to do good, and though naturally ambitious, yet a very wise clergyman. Worthington was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and who practised a most sublime way of self-denial and devotion; and More, an open-hearted, sincere Christian philosopher, who studied to establish men in the great principles of religion against atheism, that was then beginning to gain ground by the help of a very wicked book with a very strange title, "The Leviathan," that Hobbes, in the late times of confusion, had ventured to publish. His main principles were, that all mankind were influenced by an absolute necessity; that the universe was God, our souls material, and thought nothing else but subtle and imperceptible motion; that fear and interest were the chief instruments of society; that all morality consisted in following our private will and advantage; that religion had no other foundation than the laws of the land; and that all law was in the will of the prince, or of the people; for he wrote his book at first in favour of absolute monarchy, but, upon some disgust at Court, changed it afterwards to gratify the Republicans.

To antidote the world against these opinions, which for their novelty and boldness were but too greedily imbibed, this set of men at Cambridge studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds and in a philosophical way; and because in doing this they allowed a greater freedom both in philosophy and divinity than had been taken before, men of narrower thoughts and hotter tempers called them Latitudinarians because they read Episcopius, and were willing to account for the reason of things, their enemies would have them to be Socinians; and because they were zealous against Popery, and strong assertors of the Reformation, the Papists endeavoured to decry them as atheists, deists, and what not. So ungrateful a work it is to awaken a spirit of inquiry or to point out new lights to a people that is blinded with prejudice!

The most eminent of those who were formed under these great men that have been mentioned were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, and Lloyd. Tillotson was a man of a clear head and a sweet temper. He had the brightest thoughts, the most correct style, and the happiest way of explaining things of any of our divines. He was eminent for his opposition of Popery, persecution, and atheism, and for above twenty years was universally esteemed and beloved. But at last the malice of his adversaries, that had been long levelling at him, broke out upon him to a great degree. Stillingfleet was a man of much more learning, but more reserved and haughty in his temper. His knowledge of the laws and records and the original of our Constitution was very great; but his books of controversy gained him his lasting fame. When he was young he wrote an "Irenicum" for healing our divisions, with such learning and moderation that it was accounted a masterpiece; but he afterwards retracted it, and ran into contrary notions a little more eagerly than became him. After that, he wrote against infidelity beyond any who had gone before; and when he came to engage against Popery, he did it with such exactness and liveliness as made him be read and admired above all the writers in that controversy. Patrick was a great preacher[1] and a great writer, particularly on the Scriptures; laborious in his function, and exactly strict in his life, but a little too severe against those who differed from him. Lloyd was a great critic in the Greek and Latin tongues, but chiefly in the Scriptures; an exact historian, and the most punctual chronologist of all our divines. He had read so many books with so good a judgment, and had made such large extracts from them, that he could write volumes upon any subject with great readiness and facility; for, besides his great store of materials, he had an imagination more lively than might seem consistent with such a laborious course of study. In a word, he was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good, and in his ministerial capacity[2] so laborious, that he was an example, or rather a reproach, to the clergy who were about him. He had the comfort, however, to see himself succeeded by Dr. Tenison, who carried on and advanced all the good methods that he had begun in the management of so great a cure. He was a learned man, and took much pains to state the notions and practices of heathenish idolatry, in order to fasten that charge on the Church of Rome. He endowed schools, set up a public library, and stood, as it were, in the front of the battle all King James's reign, maintaining as well as managing the dangerous post he was in with great conduct and magnanimity.

These were the greatest divines in their times; and it is to their example and good taste that the method of preaching in England, which before was overrun with pedantry and mixed quotations, with points of controversy and different expositions, in a style either flat or low, or swelled up to a false sublime, was so wonderfully reformed. For the style of their discourses was generally clear and plain; they gave a short paraphrase of their text, laying aside all unnecessary shows of learning, and applying themselves directly to the matter, in which they opened the nature and reason of things so fully, and with that simplicity, that their hearers felt another kind of instruction than what they were accustomed to; and many, by their means, were won off from their prejudices against the Church.

The truth is, a spirit of learning came in with the Restoration, and the laity as well as the clergy were possessed with a generous emulation of surpassing one another in all kinds of knowledge. Mathematics and the new philosophy were in great esteem; and the meetings that Wilkins had begun at Oxford were now held in London too, and that in so public a manner that the King himself encouraged them much, and had some experiments made before him.

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[1] He was rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

[2] He was vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

The men who formed the Royal Society in London were Sir Robert Murray; the Lord Brunker, a profound mathematician; and Dr. Ward, soon after made Bishop of Exeter, and from thence removed to Salisbury. Ward was one of a great reach; he went deep in mathematical studies, and was a very dexterous man, if not too dexterous, for his sincerity was much questioned. A profound statesman all allowed him, but most reputed him a very indifferent clergyman. Many physicians and other ingenious men went into the Society for Natural Philosophy; but he who laboured most at the gravest charge, and with the greatest success in experiments, was Robert Boyle, the Earl of Cork's youngest son. He was a very devout Christian, humble and modest almost to a fault, and of a most spotless and exemplary life in all respects. He was highly charitable, a mortified and self-denied man, and one who delighted in nothing so much as in doing good. He neglected his person, despised the world, and, amidst a Court of great licentiousness and intrigue, lived abstracted from all pleasures, designs, and interests. The Society for Philosophy grew so considerable that they thought fit to take out a patent, which constituted them a body. But their history is written with such justice and politeness by Dr. Sprat, that I refer my reader to it as a most elegant entertainment.[1]

This was the state of affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, in England, from the Restoration to the end of the year 1661; and to help the reader to an equal knowledge of what passed in Scotland during that time, it may not be improper to give some account of the chief of the Scots, and of the parties that were formed among them.

The Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous Covenanter; but, in the year '47, he turned to the King's interest, and at Worcester fight was taken prisoner and detained in custody till the affair of the Restoration was set on foot. In his person he made but an ill appearance. His stature was large, his hair red, his tongue too big for his mouth, and his whole manner rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. His temper was intolerable, for he was haughty beyond expression to all who had expectances from him, but abject where himself had any; and so violently passionate that he oftentimes, upon slight occasions, ran himself into fits like madness. His learning was considerable, for he not only understood Latin, in which he was a master, but Greek and Hebrew; had read a great deal of divinity, almost all historians, both ancient and modern; and having besides an extraordinary memory, was furnished with a copious but very unpolished way of expression. The sense of religion that a long imprisonment had impressed on his mind was soon erased by a course of luxury and sensuality, which ran him into great expense, and which he stuck at nothing to support; and the fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, and made it more like the cruelty of an Inquisition than the legality of justice. After all, he was no lover of Popery or arbitrary power, but retained his aversion to King Charles I. and his party to the hour of his death; for he was the coldest friend and the most violent enemy that ever was known.

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[1] "History of the Royal Society," 4to, 1667. Reprinted in 1722 and 1734.

Among those who were Lord Lauderdale's friends, the Earl of Crawford, who had been his fellow-prisoner for ten years, was, upon that account, admitted to the post he held before, that of Lord Treasurer. He was a sincere but weak man, passionate and indiscreet, and continued still a zealous Presbyterian. The Earl, afterwards Duke of Rothes, had married his daughter, and had the merit of a long confinement likewise to recommend him. He had ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a soft and winning address, a quick apprehension, and a clear judgment; but he had no advantage of education, no sort of literature, no improvement from travel: all in him was pure nature.

The Earl of Tweeddale was a man early engaged in business, and continued in it to a great age, by which means he understood all the interests and concerns of Scotland well. He had a great stock of knowledge, with a mild and obliging temper; was blameless, or rather exemplary, in his life, but he had some loose notions both of civil and ecclesiastical government, and seemed to think that what form soever was uppermost it might be complied with; and therefore he had been in Cromwell's Parliament, and abjured the royal family, which thing lay heavy on him, otherwise he was the ablest and worthiest man of the nobility, though a little too cautious and too fearful.

The Earl of Selkirk, made Duke of Hamilton by marrying the heiress of that family (for when the heiress of a title in Scotland marries one of a lower rank, it is usual, at her desire, to give her husband the title for life), was a candid and sincere man, but rough, boisterous, and sullen, neither fit to govern nor submit, for he was mutinous when out of power, and imperious in it; he wrote well, but spoke ill, for his judgment, when calm, was better than his imagination. He had a great knowledge of the laws, the history, and the families of Scotland; seemed to have a good regard to justice, and love to his country; but his narrow and selfish temper made him incapable of any great designs.

Another person who made a good figure on that side was Bruce, afterwards Earl of Kincardine, a man fit to govern any affairs but his own, which, by a wrong turn and a love for the public, he neglected to his ruin. His thoughts went slow, and his words came much slower; but a deep judgment appearing in what he said and did, made a compensation. He had a noble zeal for justice, in which even friendship could not bias him, and a powerful sense of religion and virtue, which showed themselves with great lustre upon all occasions; and from such principles it is less wonder that he became a faithful friend and a merciful enemy.

The Cavalier party, that was now become fierce and full of merit, was headed by the Earls of Middleton and Glencairn. Middleton had two friends who were principal agents under him; the one Sir Archibald Primrose, a subtle and dexterous man in business, who had always expedients ready for every difficulty, and an art of speaking to all men according to their sense of things, so as to draw their secrets out of them, at the same time that he concealed his own. He was always for soft counsels and slow methods, and thought the chief thing that a great man had to do was to raise his family and enrich himself. The other was Sir John Fletcher, a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could scarce speak with decency or patience of those of the other side. Such as were faulty in the late times looked upon him as an Inquisitor-General; but Primrose, on the other hand, took money liberally, and was the intercessor for all who made such effectual applications to him.

These were the principal men who formed the different parties, and on whom the negotiation of public affairs in Scotland, for some time after the Restoration, rested. And the first thing that was thought on, with relation to that kingdom, was the manner in which persons concerned in the late rebellion were to be treated. The King, in a letter to the Parliament of England from Breda, promised a full indemnity to all except such as were concerned in his father's death; but there was no such promise made to Scotland, and the Cavaliers were in good hopes of having the estates of such as should be found guilty divided amongst them. The Earl of Lauderdale opposed all sanguinary proceedings with the strongest arguments that he could, but the Earl of Middleton and his party prevailed; and so they desired that the Marquis of Argyll, whom they charged with an accession to the King's murder, and some few of those who had joined the Remonstrance while the King was in Scotland, might be proceeded against. The Marquis of Argyll, upon the Restoration, had retired into the Highlands for some time, but his son, the Lord Lorn, was come to Court, and well received by the King, and by him the Marquis wrote to the King to have leave to come and wait on him. The King returned an answer that had a show of encouragement in it, but a little too equivocating for a prince; upon which the Marquis came up, but when he sent his son to beg admittance, instead of that, he was seized and sent to the Tower. Swinton was likewise sent prisoner to Scotland, and orders were issued out for apprehending three of the Remonstrators, whereof Wariston was one, and not the least culpable, for he had gone fully into Cromwell's counsels in the last year of his government; had been summoned up as one of his peers; put in the Council of State after Richard's deposition; and sat in another court, erected by the army, called the Committee of Safety; but he had notice sent before the messenger came, and so made his escape beyond sea.

The Earl of Lauderdale was thus defeated in his hopes of prevailing for an indemnity for Scotland; but he gained another point very beneficial to that kingdom, and wherein the Earl of Middleton thought not proper to oppose him, which was that the citadels which Cromwell had built and garrisoned with English soldiers should be all evacuated and slighted as soon as money could be raised in England to pay and disband the army.

The next thing that fell under consideration was the Church, and whether bishops were to be restored or not. And upon this the Earl of Lauderdale endeavoured to persuade the King that the attempt of establishing Episcopacy in Scotland had ruined both King James's and his father's affairs, raised discontents in the nation, and made it utterly useless to the Crown; whereas, to let them follow the grain of their inclination (as he called it), was to attach them to his service, if ever any dispute should happen between him and the Parliament of England. It was then the honeymoon, he told him; all things were smooth and easy then; but, in case of an alteration, as he could not but expect one ere long, nothing could keep England so much in awe as to see a neighbouring nation ready at any call to assist him, fixed in their duty and affections to him. And therefore he laid down for a maxim in policy that Scotland was to be kept quiet and in good humour; that the opposition of the two kingdoms was to be kept up, and heightened; and that no uniformity in religion was to be attempted, for fear of embroiling his subjects and weakening his power among them. And to confirm these advices he wrote a long letter down into Scotland, that a number of good sensible men might be sent up, but without any noise, to inform the King of the aversion the nation had to Episcopal government, and to assure him that, if he would but forego that point, he might depend upon them in everything else.

These debates about Episcopacy soon alarmed the Kirk; and the Resolutioners, who had employed Sharp, urged him to procure something from the King that might look like a confirmation of their government, and put to silence all discourses of an intended change; and he, by the Earl of Lauderdale's means, obtained a letter from the King to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and thence to be communicated to the other presbyteries, confirming the Presbyterian government as it was by law established; confirming the General Assemblies that sat at St. Andrews and Dundee while he was in Scotland; and ordering all such as would not submit to them to be proceeded against and censured. Sharp procured this, as he said, to lull the Presbyterians asleep, that they might not attend to what was contriving against them, and to hound the parties at one another, that, upon a general distraction, the impossibility of maintaining the government of the Church in a parity might be seen, and an Episcopal power called in to restore peace.

When the King settled the ministry in Scotland, the Earl of

Middleton was declared his Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the Forces that were to be raised. The Earl of Glencairn was made Chancellor, the Earl of Lauderdale Secretary of State, the Earl of Rothes President of the Council, the Earl of Crawford Treasurer, and Sir Archibald Primrose Clerk-Register, which is very much like the Master of the Rolls in England. The rest depended on these; and a Council was appointed to sit in Whitehall on Scottish affairs, to which every one of the Scotch Privy Council who happened to be in town should be admitted; with this addition, that, as two Scotch lords were called to the English Council, so six of the English Council were to be of the Scotch—a wise institution, that continued for two or three years, and which probably might have saved the nation much injustice and violence had it continued longer. But as Lord Lauderdale opposed it first with all his might, as a matter that would create too great a dependence upon England, so, when he got into the chief management, and was resolved to govern Scotland in the way that his pride and passion guided him, he took care to have it superseded.

One irreparable damage that Scotland sustained this year was the loss of all her public records, which Cromwell, when he overran that kingdom, brought up and lodged in the Tower of London, in imitation of what King Edward I. had done before. An order was granted for sending them down; but they were so long detained in search of the original Covenant that the King had signed, and some other declarations that were thought to reflect upon his honour, that it was winter before they were put on board, and the ship by some easterly gusts being cast away near Berwick, they were all, to the number of fifty hogsheads full, lost.

Before the convention of Parliament, the Earl of Glencairn was sent down to call together the Committee of Estates; for, when the Parliament made a recess, they appointed some of every state to sit and act in their name till the next session, for which they were to prepare matters and to give an account of their proceedings. When the Parliament of Stirling was adjourned, at which the King was present, a Committee was named, and such of them as were yet alive were summoned now to meet and take care of the national peace till the Parliament could be brought together. The very day that the Committee met, about ten or twelve protesting ministers were got together, and had before them a paper that one Guthrie had prepared, wherein, after some cold compliment to the King upon his restoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant which he had so solemnly sworn when he was among them. They lamented his setting up the Common Prayer and order of Bishops in England contrary to that oath, and denounced the heavy judgments of God upon him if he did not repent of these things and amend. The Earl of Glencairn had notice of this meeting, and sent and seized the men and their Remonstrance. The Remonstrance was voted seditious, and the men committed to prison ; but, after a short confinement, they were all set at liberty except Guthrie, who, having occasioned this meeting, and treated the King, while he was at Stirling, with vast indignity in his sermons, was reserved for greater severity ; for it was resolved to strike terror in all by making an example of him, and to reduce pulpits, which for many years had been places where preachers were wont to vent their spleen and arraign public proceedings, to a little more silence as to that particular, and a better regulation.

In the end of the year the Earl of Middleton came down with great magnificence. His way of living was very splendid, but, at the same time, very scandalous ; for vices of all kinds, especially prodigious drinking, were the open practices of those about him ; and such as had seen the piety and gravity that appeared in the former administration began to look with an evil eye on everything that was done by such a set of lewd libertines.

He opened the Parliament on the 1st of January, 1661, with a speech setting forth the blessing of the Restoration, and magnifying the King's person and affection to his ancient kingdom ; hoping that they would make suitable returns of zeal, by condemning all invasions on the regal authority, by asserting the just prerogatives of the Crown, and by giving supplies for keeping up such a force as was necessary for the public peace, and the prevention of such calamities as they had so long felt.

The parliamentary constitution of Scotland is somewhat different from what it is in England, and therefore it may not be amiss, for the better understanding of what is to follow, to give some account of it.

The Parliament was anciently the King's Court, where all who held any land of him were bound to appear. All sat in one House, but were considered as three estates. The first was the Church, represented by the bishops, mitred abbots, and priors; the second was the baronage, the nobility and gentry, who held their baronies of the King; and the third was the boroughs, who held of the King by barony, but in a community. So that the Parliament was truly the baronage of the kingdom. The lesser barons, *i. e.* the gentry and boroughs,[1] growing weary of this attendance, were allowed to send as many proxies as they would to represent them in Parliament; but they neglected this, until the nobility, in King James VI.'s time (upon the removal of the mitred abbots and the non-appearance of the titular bishops), began to carry matters as they pleased in Parliament, and give the King uneasiness, and then they resumed the right, which for nearly two hundred years they had made no use of, and were allowed to send two representatives from a county, but in smaller ones only one; and these representatives were called Commissioners, because they who chose them signed a commission to him who represented them, which commission, upon any controversy, was examined in Parliament, so that the Sheriff had no share of the return.

The Parliament, when they met, was anciently accustomed to sit but two days, the first and the last. On the first they chose eight persons for every state, to whom the King joined eight officers of State, and these were called Lords of the Articles, because they were to receive all articles or heads of grievances, and to form them into bills as they thought fit; and on the last day these bills were all read, and either approved or rejected by the whole body. These Lords of the Articles were at first named by the general vote, but in process of time the nobility came to choose eight bishops, these bishops were to choose eight noblemen, and these noblemen and bishops together to choose eight barons (so the representatives of counties are called) and eight burgesses; and by this means the King, upon the matter, had the nomination of the whole.

As soon as Earl Middleton's speech was ended, the Parliament wrote an answer to the King's letter, full of duty and thanks, and after naming the Lords of the Articles, they proceeded to grant him an additional revenue for life of forty thousand pounds a year, upon which two troops and a regiment of foot-guards were to be raised; to order that the Marquis of Montrose's quartered remains should be brought together and buried in great state; and to repeal those acts that had limited the prerogative in former times, and to assert it to its full extent.

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[1] This happened in King James I.'s time, during the reign of Henry IV. of England.

In one act, that asserted the King's power in treaties of peace and war, all leagues with any other nation not made by the King's authority were declared treasonable: and, in consequence of this, the League and Covenant made with England in the year 1643 was condemned. The Covenant was the Presbyterians' idol, and the striking at it provoked some angry zealots so, that one Marquair, a hot man, but considerably learned, openly protested in his church at Glasgow against the act as contrary to the oath of God, and so void of itself, for which he was condemned to perpetual banishment;[1] but he, and some others who had afterwards the same fate, settled at Rotterdam, where, by keeping a correspondence with the malcontents in Scotland, and writing many seditious books, they did less courtesy to the Government than their stay would have done harm.

In the acts that the late King passed in the year '41, and the present King had passed while he was in Scotland, there were several infringements on the prerogative; but what to do with them the Lords of the Articles knew not, because the Presbyterian government was ratified therein, and to strike at that as yet would give a universal alarm. It was proposed, therefore, that the better and shorter way would be to pass a general act rescissory (as it was called), annulling all the Parliaments that had been held since the year 1633, during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their constitution, but where to fix their defectiveness cost them some debate. At last it was resolved into force and violence, or a distress put upon the King's affairs, which was equivalent to it; and so the bill was put to the vote, carried by a great majority, and passed by the Earl of Middleton without ever staying for the King's instructions about it.

This was a most extravagant act, making a fatal precedent, and destroying all security in government, which the Earl of Lauderdale was not backward to aggravate to the King in such a manner that the Lord Middleton complained to the Parliament how their best services were represented to the King as detrimental to his honour and prejudicial to his affairs, and thereupon desired that they would send up some of their body to give him a true account of their proceedings; but his meaning in this was to have them accuse the Earl of Lauderdale of what the Scottish law calls "leasing-making," which either to the King of the people or to the people of the King is capital.

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[1] To protest against an Act of Parliament in Scotland was treason by their law.

The two who were deputed by the Parliament were the Earls of Glencairn and Rothes, and Sharp went up with them, in reality to urge the speedy setting up of Episcopacy, now that the enemies of it were in a general consternation, though he undertook with his brethren (for he was still a Presbyterian, and full of concern for their welfare) to procure an instruction for a new establishment of Presbytery upon a better bottom. The Lords soon satisfied the King with the good designs of the Parliament and the justice of their proceedings; but they were dissuaded from exhibiting any charge against Lord Lauderdale as a thing dangerous in itself, ungrateful to the Court, and what, instead of shaking him, might perhaps ruin them and root him faster in the King's favour, and so that design was laid aside.

But how just soever these proceedings of Parliament might appear in London, they certainly, in Scotland, had another construction; and what gave the Presbyterians a further uneasiness this session was the discountenance which everything that came from them, and the kind reception that all petitions and addresses that had a contrary aspect, met with in Parliament. None but the bold aspiring men of the clergy were appointed to preach before the House; most of them took care to insinuate the necessity of a greater authority than was then in the Church for keeping them in order; and when the presbytery of Edinburgh complained of this as an affront to the law and the King's letter, they were sent away with some fair speeches, but no further notice was taken of it.

The Synod of Fife was resolved to address the King and Parliament for an act to establish their government that was then dissolved; but upon Sharp's information of their design the Synod was dissolved, and the ministers commanded to return home, under pain of high treason; but when the Synod of Aberdeen presented their address (which was the only one presented of that sort), praying that the King and Parliament would settle their government, *conform to the Scriptures, and the rules of the Primitive Church*, which all understood to point at Episcopacy, they were received with all the encouragement they could wish.

The truth is, Scotland at this time was in a very distracted condition; the Rescissory Act had unhinged everything; an Act of Indemnity had not yet passed; and the severe, or rather cruel, proceedings against such as were attainted, hung like a black and lowering cloud over every one's head, uncertain where the storm was next to fall.

The first and chief of those who were attainted was the Marquis of Argyll. The articles against him were most of them reducible to these three heads: 1. His own public actings during the war; 2. The many murders and barbarities committed by his officers; and 3. His concurrence with Cromwell and the usurpers in opposition to those who appeared for the King. To the first of these he said that as to the things charged upon him before the year 1641 he was not bound to answer, because the late King had buried them in an Act of Oblivion then passed, as the present King had also done since, in 1651; but as to other things, he was but one among many, and had always acted by the authority of Parliament and the instructions that were sent him. To the second he said that it was very well known how the Macdonalds had burnt his whole country, and done great outrage to his people; and therefore it was no wonder that, when they had got the better of them, they took cruel revenges. This was to be imputed to the heat of the times and the temper of the people, but in no sense to him, since he was in London when these barbarities were committed, and neither blamable for any hand he had in them, nor any orders he gave about them. He owned indeed, as to the third article, that he had complied with the usurpation, but it was more to save himself and his family than with any design to oppose the King's interest; for he had stood out until the nation was quite conquered, and, in that case, it was the received opinion both of divines and lawyers that men might lawfully submit to a usurpation when forced to it by an inevitable necessity. This was the substance of his defence in a long speech, which he delivered in such a graceful manner as gained him great reputation; but it so happened that, in excusing his compliance with Cromwell, he chanced to mention the King's Advocate, Sir John Fletcher, who had equally taken the engagement; and this enraged the Advocate so, that he not only gave him opprobrious language, but put in an additional article against him, which charged him with an accession to the King's death.

All this while the Lord Lorn continued at Court, soliciting his father's interest, and obtained a letter from the King to the Earl of Middleton, requiring that no public transactions before the Indemnity he himself had passed in the year 1651 might be insisted on, and that the whole process might be sent up to him before the Parliament should give sentence. But this part of the order the Earl prevailed with the King to revoke, as implying a distrust of the justice, and a discouragement to the proceedings, of so loyal and affectionate a Parliament.

While this was adjusting, the process stood still, and the Lord Argyll was persuaded to make his escape; but his heart misgave him after he had put on his lady's clothes, and was going into the chair, and the fear of discovery, which he thought would hasten his execution, made him not attempt it.

The business was now to prove him guilty of accession to the King's death; but for this they had but a slender presumption. Cromwell had been in Scotland in September, 1648; Argyll had at that time many conferences with him; and immediately upon Cromwell's return to London the King was brought to his trial, and thence to the block; so the inference was that Cromwell and he had concerted the matter between them. But this was a presumption so remote, and a way of procedure so enormous, that the Parliament acquitted him, as to the point of accession, by a great majority, at which he expressed so much joy, that he seemed little concerned at anything that might happen to him afterwards.

The only thing remaining was to make his compliance with the usurpers appear to be treason; but while it was doubtful how that debate would end, Monk, with inexcusable baseness, had searched among his letters, and found some that were written by Argyll to himself in a strain too zealous to make it believed that his compliance was feigned or extorted from him. He sent them down by an express, and when they were read in Parliament there was no more to be said in his vindication. His friends went out, and he was found guilty, and sentenced to be beheaded, and his head to be set up where Lord Montrose's had been.

The day before his death he wrote to the King, justifying his intentions in what he had done in the matter of the Covenant, protesting his innocence as to the death of his father, wishing him a long and happy reign, casting his wife and children upon his royal mercy, and praying that they might not suffer for his fault. When he came to the scaffold (which was on the 27th of May) he appeared undaunted, and spoke for half an hour with great serenity, vindicating himself from any accession to the King's death, justifying the Covenant, and exhorting the people to adhere to it, forgiving all his enemies, and submitting to his sentence and execution as the will of God. He parted with his friends decently, and after some time in his private devotions was beheaded.

Some days after Guthrie was executed. He had been the minister of Stirling when the King was there, and for some invectives against him in his sermons was cited to appear before him, which he refused to do, as accountable to none in points of doctrine but the judicatories of the Kirk; and thereupon protested for a remedy at law against the King for thus disturbing him in the exercise of his functions. This behaviour, the seditious paper above mentioned, and a book entitled "The Causes of God's Wrath upon the Nation," wherein much vehemence was expressed against the King, were the matters objected to him; and instead of a legal defence, he confessed and justified them all, as agreeing with the principles and practices of the Kirk; so that there was not much labour to find him guilty, nor any great interposition made upon his account, only the Earl of Tweeddale moved that he might be banished, because banishment hitherto had been the severest sentence that had been inflicted on preachers for their opinions. When he came to die, he showed a contempt, rather than any fear, of death, and spoke for an hour with the composedness of one delivering a sermon, rather than his last words. With him was executed one Govan for deserting the army when the King was in Scotland, and going over to Cromwell—a man of no consideration, till they made him so by putting him to death on such an account, and at such a distance of time.

Warriston had made his escape beyond sea, so his crimes were enumerated—how he had presented the Remonstrance, had acted under Cromwell's authority, confirmed his Protectorship, sat in his Parliament, and in the Committee of Safety, and he was attainted. Swinton had been attainted before, in the Parliament of Stirling, for going over to Cromwell, and when he was brought in to show why the sentence should not be executed on him, with a sort of eloquence peculiar to his sect (for he was then become a Quaker), and a seeming indifference what became of him, he so laid open his own errors, and the evil spirit he was in when he committed the things that were charged against him, that he moved compassion in the House, and prevailed so far that they recommended him to the King as a fit object of his mercy. Macleod of Assynt, who had betrayed the Marquis of Montrose, was brought over to be tried for it; but while he was in prison he struck up to a high pitch of vice and impiety, and gave great entertainments, which, notwithstanding the baseness of the man and his crimes, begat him so many friends, that he was suffered to escape without any censure—a brand of ignominy upon the corruption of the ministry and the gross impiety of the Court.

When the session of Parliament was ended, the Earl of Middleton went up to Court full of merit and full of pride, and on the first day that the Scotch Council met gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expressed, while others who had been pardoned and highly trusted by the King, as he said, had been often backward and sometimes repugnant to his service. And when the Earl of Crawford called upon him, with some vehemence, to explain what he meant by the reflection, and to name the persons concerned in it, he, to get off, named the Earl of Tweeddale (who was then in Scotland), and for an instance mentioned that little opposition he had made to the sentence passed on Guthrie; and no one venturing to stand up in his vindication, an order was sent down for committing him to prison, and for examining him upon the point. But he soon sent up such an account of his words, and such an explanation of them, as satisfied the King, and gained the Earl of Middleton no great credit.

The Earl of Middleton was now raising the Guards, who were to be paid out of an excise on beer and ale granted by Parliament; and because he knew that the excise would overpay them, and was in good hopes, if the collection were put in his hands, to obtain a grant of the overplus at the year's end, he therefore moved that the excise might be raised by collectors named by himself as general, that so he might not depend upon the Treasury for the pay of the forces; but in this too the Earl of Crawford carried the point, and Lord Middleton was blamed for putting his interest at Court on such an issue, where the pretension was so unusual and so unreasonable.

When the affair of setting up Episcopacy in Scotland came to be debated in Council, there was such a variety of opinions, some for it and some against it, and most upon different motives, that it was thought advisable to write to the Privy

Council of Scotland some intimations of the King's design to establish Episcopacy there, and to demand their advice upon it. The Earl of Glencairn took care to have the men ready that he knew would speak warmly for it, in order to intimidate those that he thought would oppose it; so that when the thing was opened, there was little or no opposition at that board, and a letter was written from thence, encouraging the King to go on, and assuring him that the change he intended to make would give a general satisfaction to the main body of the nation.

This advice determined the design; but in what manner to proceed, or where to find proper persons to be employed in it, was the question. Sheldon and the English bishops had an aversion to all who had been engaged in the Covenant, and therefore they proposed that the Episcopal clergy driven out of Scotland in the beginning of the troubles should be sought out for and preferred. This was excluding Sharp with a witness, and therefore he took care to urge to Lord Clarendon that those who had been long absent from their country, and exasperated with ill-usage, could neither be such judges of men and things, such masters of their tempers, nor so uniform in their actings, as men of moderate principles would be; and therefore he undertook to find out fit men of this character to fill up all the sees, and himself at the same time had the promise of St. Andrews. Sydserf was the only surviving Scotch bishop, and might have expected it; but he was old and poor, had few friends, and many enemies among the English clergy, because he had held private ordinations for some time in England, without requiring either oaths or subscriptions; so he was only translated to Orkney. Hamilton was designed for Galloway, and Fairfoul for Glasgow. Hamilton was brother to Lord Belhaven, a good-natured man, but weak, always believed to be Episcopal, though he counterfeited zeal for the Covenant somewhat extravagantly, the better to screen himself from suspicion. Fairfoul was a better physician than divine, for he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function, and his life was scarce free from scandal. He was a pleasant and facetious man, crafty and insinuating; but soon after his consecration his parts sunk so fast that, in a few months, from one of the most cunning men in Scotland he became in a manner a changeling.

The fourth who was appointed to be made a bishop was

Robert Leighton,[1] a person whose character deserves to be fully appreciated. He had a great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, and a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He was a perfect master of Greek and Hebrew, had the greatest command of the purest Latin, the whole compass of theological learning, and the highest and noblest sense of Divine things that man could have. He had that abstinence as to his person, that low opinion of himself and his abilities, and that just contempt of fame, riches, and reproaches, that few now-a-days endeavour to attain. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper as never to be angry, brought himself to such a composed gravity as never to laugh, seldom to smile, and kept himself under that constant recollection as never to be heard to speak one idle word. But what is an uncommon thing, with all this strictness he was no cynic, but the sweetest-tempered man imaginable. He had no superstition, no censuring, no imposing his own method upon others; all was free and easy, and the liveliness of his conversation was a very becoming ornament and commendation to the gravity and great sobriety of it. He was a great preacher, though he would never account himself so; and in all his sermons there was that sublimity of thought, and majesty of style, and grace of pronunciation as left lasting impressions upon his hearers. His only infelicity was that he was bred up with a strong aversion to the Church of England; but he soon got the better of that prejudice when he came to see the follies of the Presbyterians, and to be better acquainted with the Episcopal party.

He had a brother at Court, Sir Elisha, a very ingenious but immoral man, who at that time was secretary to the Duke of York (for he had changed his religion for promotion), and very intimate with Lord D'Aubigny, then a priest, though a very vicious man, and who had probably been a cardinal if he had lived a little longer. D'Aubigny's interest with the King was indisputable, and Sir Elisha considering that to have his brother a bishop might be a means to raise his own character, not only brought him acquainted with Lord D'Aubigny, but possessed that lord with such an opinion of him, that he made the King believe that a man of his piety and notions and monastic course of life might contribute not a little to prepare the nation for Popery, and promote the design of introducing it. The King, therefore, named him of his own proper motion; and when, by his brother's persuasions, he was prevailed upon at last to accept a bishopric, he made choice of Dunblane, a small diocese, as well as a little revenue.

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[1] He was son of Dr. Leighton, who, in Archbishop Laud's time, was condemned in the Star Chamber to have his ears cut and his nose slit for writing "Zion's Plea against the Prelates." There are two editions of Bishop Leighton's works: 1, in six vols. 8vo, published in 1808, and 2, in four vols. 8vo, in 1825.

These were the men who for the present, and till more could be found, were to settle Episcopacy, and to preside in all ecclesiastical matters in Scotland. But when the time for their consecration came on (Sharp and Leighton having never received Episcopal ordination), the English bishops insisted on it that they must be ordained deacons and priests before they could be consecrated. Sharp stuck more at this than might have been expected from a man who had swallowed much greater matters before; but Leighton made no scruple of it; so they were both ordained privately, and were afterwards all together consecrated publicly in the Abbey of Westminster.

Not long after their consecration Leighton proposed to Sharp two points necessary, as he thought, to be settled before they went to Scotland. The one was, how to proceed in the design of uniting Presbyterians to them; and the other, how to try to raise in the people a truer sense of piety, thereby to draw them off from their extemporary method to a more regular form of worship; but Sharp was for forming no scheme about these matters; he left all to the determination of Parliament; and Fairfoul, when he talked to him, had always a merry tale at hand to divert any serious discourse, which he was not indeed capable of. This was a sad indication to him how the affair of Episcopacy was likely to be carried on; and the truth is, Sharp, who had the greatest hand in it, was so full of dissimulation, the rest of the order were so mean and selfish, and the secular men who conducted it were so openly impious and vicious that it was a scandal to religion to be managed by such instruments, and no wonder at all that Providence blasted their undertakings.

But it is time now to return to England.

It was natural for the King, upon his restoration, to look out for a proper match. He had no inclination to marry a Protestant; the Germans he despised, and the northern crowns were too inferior to him; France had no sister; the Duke of Orleans' daughters he had seen, and liked none of them: Spain had only two Infantas, and the one was to be married to the King of France, and the other to the Emperor, so that the House of Portugal only remained; and they, of late, were so full of dreadful apprehensions, by being abandoned by France in the Treaty of the Pyrenees, that they made vast offers if the King would marry their Infanta, and take them under his protection; and accordingly, at the King's first coming, they sent an embassy of congratulation, with proper instructions to negotiate that business. It was visible that this marriage would make a great alteration in their affairs, and secure that kingdom from the incursions of Spain; and therefore no wonder that the Spanish ambassador endeavoured to dissuade the King from it by insinuating, among other things, that the Infanta was incapable of having children. But Spain, in this case, was too much a party to have any great credit given to what they said; and the veneration paid to the memory of the late King, who had intended, as some affirmed, a marriage between his son and this Infanta, made the proposition better accepted.

Monsieur Fouquet was at this time sent to the King with a project of an alliance between France and England; and to make everything go down the better, he sent Lord Clarendon an offer of ten thousand pounds and a promise of renewing the same present every year. But that noble lord rejected it with a proper indignation and a great commendation of his master's generosity to him. And when he afterwards acquainted the King and his brother with what had been offered him, and they both advised him to accept it, he thence took occasion seriously to warn the King of the great danger of suffering any about him to become pensioners to other princes, and to desire him earnestly to watch over that corruption; for if taking of money were once connived at, it would soon grow a habit, and spread like an infection through the whole land.

While this match with Portugal was thus in agitation, an incident of an extraordinary nature happened in the Court. The Earl of Clarendon's daughter, being with child and near her time, called upon the Duke of York to own his marriage with her. She had been maid of honour to the Princess Royal, and the Duke, who was amorous even in old age, tried to gain her to his desires; but she managed the matter with such address as to prevail with him to marry her. The marriage was kept secret (for the father was ignorant of it until it broke out), and the Duke, sometimes by threats and sometimes by promises, thought to have shaken her from her claim; but she was a woman of a great spirit, and resolved to declare herself his wife, come what would of it. The thing occasioned many speculations; but after some bishops and judges had examined the proofs she had to produce, and reported the marriage valid and good, the King was loath to break with Lord Clarendon, and so enjoined the Duke to live with his wife.

The Duke was very brave in his youth, and so much magnified by Monsieur de Turenne, that until this match lessened him he really clouded the King, and passed for the superior genius. He was naturally candid and sincere, though somewhat eager and revengeful, and a very firm friend, until his religion had corrupted his first principles and inclinations. He had a great desire to understand business, though not an equal capacity; for his judgment was not good, always too flexible to those he trusted and too obstinate against other advices. In his expenses he was both frugal and magnificent; in his amours not too nice; in his notions of kingly authority too extensive; and in the matter of religion a confirmed Papist, though he many years dissembled it and seemed zealous for the Church of England. When he was reconciled, as they call it, is not well known; but the doctrine of a real, but inconceivable presence of Christ in the sacrament, wherein Dr. Steward taught him to believe, led him, as he used to say, half-way to transubstantiation, and was an inlet to other Popish articles.

The Duchess of York was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge and a lively sense of things, was bred to a great strictness in religion, and practised secret confession from her very youth. She was a generous friend, but too severe an enemy; and soon came to understand what belonged to princes, and took rather too much state upon her.

The King's third brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was active and loved business, and had a kind, insinuating temper that was generally very acceptable. He would have made a great man; but the mirth and entertainments of that time raised his blood so high that he took the small-pox, of which he died, much lamented by all, but chiefly by the King; for he loved him better than the Duke of York, and was never in his whole life seen so much concerned as he was on this occasion.

Not long after him the Princess Royal died, likewise of the small-pox, but was not much lamented. She had lived in her widowhood for some years with great repute, kept a decen Court, and supported her brothers very liberally; but upo her mother's persuasion that the King of France might b brought to marry her, she went to Paris, kept an equipag above her ability, ran herself in debt, sold her jewels, sold he estates, and was not only disappointed of her vain expectation but fell into some misfortunes that brought a tarnish upon he character. Thus were two branches of the royal family soon after the Restoration cut off; and the Princess Henrietta wa so pleased with the diversions of the French Court, that sh was glad to go thither again, to be married to the King' brother.

As the treaty with Portugal went on, France engaged in th concerns of that crown, though contrary to their treaty wit Spain; but to cover their proceedings, Count Schomberg, a German by birth and Calvinist in religion, and who woul therefore be less suspected, was sent thither to negotiate some matters very privately. He was the Prince of Orange's particula favourite, but had so great a share in the last violent actions o his life that he left the service upon his death, and gained in France, next after the Prince de Condé and the Maréchal d Turenne, the reputation of one of the best generals they had He had been intimately acquainted with the King at the Hague and therefore, as he passed through England, he had much free discourse with him, and took an occasion to give his advice as to the business then in agitation—the sale of Dunkirk. He told him that, considering the naval power of England, it was a place that could not be taken, and that the holding of it would keep both France and Spain in dependence upon him; but the military men of England, who were supposed to be bribed, were of another opinion; and Monk positively advised to let it go for the sum that France offered. The money that was to be paid for it the King promised to lay up in the Tower, not to be touched but upon extraordinary occasions; but it was soon squandered all away among his mistresses' creatures.

The sale of this place mightily impaired the King's credit abroad, and the damage we have suffered from it since has made the bargain often reflected on with severity at home. But to alleviate this loss it was soon pretended that Tangier, which was offered as a part of the Infanta of Portugal's dowry, was a place of much greater consequence both to command the Mediterranean and to secure our East and West Indian trade. The place might have been valuable indeed, and answered the purposes that were pretended, had the making a mole proved somewhat more practicable; but in that there was so much difficulty, and so many delays and miscarriages, that, after an immense charge, the Court grew weary of it, and in the year 1683 they sent a squadron of ships to bring away the garrison and to destroy all the works.

The marriage at last between the King and the Infanta was concluded, and the Earl of Sandwich was sent over for her as the King's proxy in the nuptial ceremony. The King met her at Winchester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury came to perform the office; but the Queen was so bigoted that she would neither say a word nor bear the sight of him. So the King said over his part hastily, and the Archbishop pronounced them married; but they were afterwards married again by the Lord D'Aubigny according to the Roman ritual. She was a woman of a mean appearance and of no agreeable temper, and therefore the King had no great consideration for her; and though at first he observed some decencies, and did not visit his mistress openly, yet he soon grew weary of that restraint, and ran into the same course of uncontrolled licentiousness as before. To proceed.

A little before St. Bartholomew's day, whereon the Act of Uniformity took place, there was a great debate in council whether the act should be immediately executed or respited till next convention of Parliament; and others moved that it might be executed in the main, only a little favour showed to some eminent men, by putting curates into their churches to officiate according to the Common Prayer, and leaving them to preach on until they should die out. But it was carried against all moderate methods, upon a supposition that most would conform, though it afterwards appeared that great numbers stood out, some from principle, and some to bear their friends company, thereby to show their strength, and by that means either procure new laws in their favour, or a reversal of what had passed. These were many of them persons of distinguished zeal and abilities; and, casting themselves thus upon the providence of God and the charity of their friends, they made a good show of a firm disposition to suffer persecution for conscience' sake. This begot esteem and compassion, and raised in their followers such resentment and indignation that there were several consultations among them about leaving the kingdom.

The Earl of Bristol took this opportunity to call together as many principal Papists as were in town; and, after an oath of secrecy, told them that now was the time for them to do something towards the advancement of their religion, by using their best interest to procure a toleration for the Nonconformists (that was the candid title then), but to be expressed in general terms, that they themselves might be comprehended in it. His advice was followed, and their application so far prevailed that in December the King set out a Declaration, wherein he expressed his aversion to all severities on the account of religion, but more particularly to all sanguinary laws, and gave hopes both to Papists and Nonconformists that he would find out such ways for tempering the severities of the laws that all his subjects should be made easy under them. The wiser part of the Nonconformists received this very coldly, because they might easily perceive for what purpose it was intended; but the Papists went on warmly, and were preparing schemes for their toleration, while the Church party were amazed, as it were, and knew not what to think of such procedure; for though they were unwilling to suspect the King and the Duke, yet the management for Popery was so visible that in the next session of Parliament the King's Declaration was severely arraigned, and the authors of it plainly enough pointed at.

What contributed to heighten these suspicions was an act of Parliament a little unadvisedly made, and construed in another sense than what it was intended. Cardinal de Retz, for whom the King had a particular esteem, had come over incognito, and had been several times with the King in private; and therefore, to let the King see how fatal the effects of his being suspected of Popery would be, the Earl of Clarendon got some of his friends to move in the House of Commons for an act to render it capital to say the King was a Papist; for he reasoned thus: that the King must needs perceive that the suspicion of Popery would make him very odious to the people when the bare spreading of such reports was made so penal by the law. But this was taken by another handle, as if it was intended to stop men's mouths; and though the design of bringing in Popery was become never so visible, yet that none should dare to speak of it.

But the apprehensions of Popery made not more alarm in England than did the dread of Episcopacy, which was now coming down upon them, occasion in Scotland; for upon the bishops' consecration, as was said, the presbyteries that were still sitting began to declare themselves openly, and to prepare protestations and other instruments against them. Sharp seeing this, and being minded to get the reins of the Church entirely into his hands, moved the King that since he had set up Episcopacy, he would be pleased to issue out a proclamation forbidding clergymen to meet in any presbytery or other judicatory till the bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them.

Upon the setting out this proclamation an end was put to all presbyteries, only the ministers met once, and entered into their books a protestation against the proclamation itself, as an invasion on the liberties of the Church, and a declaration that they paid obedience to it for a time only and for peace' sake. The Earl of Lauderdale was not sorry to see Sharp drive on precipitately, and commit errors at first setting out; for the worse management there was among them, the more his advices would be approved; nor was he at all concerned to find Lord Middleton and his party perpetually drunk, because, whatever the King might do now and then by way of frolic, he had a settled bad opinion, he knew, of those who had got the habit and love of drunkenness.

The bishops, soon after their consecration, set out for Scotland all in one coach; but Leighton, who hated all appearance of vanity, finding they were to be received with some pomp, left them at Morpeth, and got to Edinburgh some days before them, which made the others represent him as a man of odd notions and affected singularities. The Lord Chancellor, with all the nobility and Privy Councillors then in Edinburgh, together with the magistracy of the city, went out to meet them, and brought them in with a sort of triumph and cavalcade that little became the humility required in their function. Soon after their arrival six other bishops were consecrated, but not ordained priests and deacons. Wishart, who had been the Marquis of Montrose's chaplain, and used with much cruelty in the gaol of Edinburgh, was advanced to that see; and as soon as the session began, a deputation of some of every state was sent to invite them to come and sit among them in Parliament.

The first act that passed in this session was for restoring Episcopacy, by which the whole government and jurisdiction of the Church, in the several dioceses, was declared to be lodged in the bishops, which they were to exercise with the advice and assistance of such of their clergy as were of known loyalty and prudence; and all men who held any benefices in the Church were to own and submit to the government of the Church as now by law established. This gave a general disgust, as carrying Episcopacy to a higher pitch than ever it was known in Scotland; for in the former establishments of it the body of the Presbyterians had their share in the administration, and bishops were no more than settled presidents with a negative voice; but here the whole power was lodged in them; their assistants were to be of their own choosing, consequently their creatures, without any separate authority; and, what is an odd circumstance, without any other requisite than loyalty and prudence, though piety and learning were always accounted the chief qualifications of the clergy. Nay, the very Episcopal clergy who had never carried the argument further in Scotland than for a certain precedency, with some authority in ordination and a negative in matters of jurisdiction, thought themselves injured in being excluded from all share in the administration, and a license given to bishops to act without their consent, and in what manner of imperiousness they pleased; so that there were a great number on both sides who refused to own the legality or submit to the jurisdiction of a Church thus established.

Under these provocations, some Presbyterian ministers had made free with Episcopacy in their sermons, and when they were called before the Parliament, and no allegations could be made good against them, it was resolved to tender them the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy that had been enacted in the former Parliament, as a test of their loyalty. They refused not to take it if they might be indulged their own explanation of it, which they presented to the Lords of the Articles, with a petition to that purpose; but the petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it stood in the law, without putting any sense upon it, which when they refused to do, they were condemned to perpetual banishment, as men who denied their allegiance to the King. But this was not thought test enough by the Parliament, and therefore all who were in the magistracy or possessed of any public employment were obliged to abjure the Covenant, both the League and the National Covenant, by which means all the Presbyterians were turned out, because to abjure that was, in their opinion, little less than an open apostasy from God, and a dereliction of their baptismal vow.

The main business of this session of Parliament, now that Episcopacy was settled and these oaths enacted, was to pass the Act of Indemnity. The Earl of Middleton had obtained of the King an instruction to consent to the fining the chief offenders, or inflicting other punishments upon them not extending to life; but in the fines there was to be this limitation—that they should be only for offences committed since the year 1650, and not exceed the annual rent of their estates. When the act itself came to be formed, it was proposed by some that, besides the power of fining, the King should be moved to grant an instruction to put some under an incapacity likewise of holding any public trust. Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Tarbet and Earl of Cromarty, was a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, who had the art of recommending himself to all sides and parties by turns, and was at that time the Earl of Middleton's chief favourite: he was sent up to the King with two drafts of an Act of Indemnity, the one containing an exception of some persons to be fined, drawn at the desire of the Parliament; and the other, besides this exception, containing an incapacitating clause, but not extending to above twelve persons, penned according to the Earl's instructions. The Earl of Lauderdale made no exception to the clause, because he could not conceive himself concerned in it, and therefore the King consented to it; and when Lord Tarbet returned into Scotland he took the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Newburgh with him, by whose wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of Middleton's whole conduct fell under such a universal odium, that, had not the King dismissed him for his own mismanagement, he could not have served there much longer with any tolerable reputation.

One instance of the mad severity of those times was occasioned by the interception of a letter of Lord Lorn's to Lord Duffus, complaining of the practices of his enemies (too truly, but a little unguardedly) in endeavouring to possess the King against him with many lies. This was brought into Parliament, and represented as a fact that came under the Statute of Leasing-making, whereupon they petitioned the King that he would send him down to be tried for it. The King was willing to deny nothing to so zealous a Parliament; so Lord Lorn was sent down upon his parole, but at the same time positive orders were sent to the Earl of Middleton not to proceed to the execution of any sentence that might be passed upon him. When he appeared to his indictment he made no defence, only he represented the many provocations he had been under, and that such hard usage as he had felt might well be allowed to have extorted some severities from him; but he protested he meant no harm to any man, and so submitted to the justice of

Parliament, and cast himself on the King's mercy. He was upon this condemned to die, but the time of his execution was left in Lord Middleton's breast.

Never was anything more universally cried out on than this proceeding, as leaving to posterity a precedent of parliamentary judgment, by which a man may be condemned for a letter of common news. But this was not the ultimate of their fury; for at the same time they passed an act against all persons who should move the King for restoring the children of those who were attainted by Parliament—an unheard-of restraint on applications to the throne for grace and mercy.

After this affair was over, the Act of Indemnity was resumed, and a number of men appointed for stating the fines; but in this they proceeded without any regard to the rules that the King had set them. The most obnoxious compounded privately, and as to the rest, no consideration was had either of their crimes or estates; no proofs were brought; not so much as any inquiries were made; but fines were set higher or lower as officious men brought them information, and all transacted by a secret committee. The other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried much further. A great many people were made to believe that the King was grown weary of Lord Lauderdale, and wanted the assistance of the Parliament to throw him off decently; but others were apprehensive that he might possibly be offended at their falling upon a minister without his privity; and therefore, to answer both these, a double expedient was proposed, that the thing should be done by ballot, every member bringing twelve names in a paper, and that a secret committee, of three of every estate, should make a scrutiny; and they, without making any report to the Parliament, should put those twelve names upon whom the greater number fell in the Act of Incapacity; which act (to ward against the King's displeasure) should have a clause in it implying that the whole should be of no force, nor the names in it so much as known, unless the King should think fit to approve it. When things were thus settled, emissaries were sent to every Parliament man, directing him how to make his list, and that the Earls of Lauderdale and Crawford and Sir Robert Murray, for sure, might be three of them. This was managed so carefully that, by a great majority, they were three of the incapacitated persons, and Lord Middleton presently passed the act, though he had no instructions to do it in this form. The thing, however, was not so secretly kept but that

Lord Lorn found means to apprise the Earl of Lauderdale of it (and he took care to acquaint the King with it) before the Duke of Richmond and Lord Tarbet got to Court. The King received them very coldly when they came, though they were loaded with commendations, and brought with them a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of Middleton's services, and another from the bishops, setting forth his zeal for the Church and care of them all; and when they delivered the Act of Indemnity to him, he told them, with some severity of reproach, that it should never be opened by him, and immediately ordered Lord Middleton to come up, and give an account of himself and his proceedings. But he, hoping that time would assuage the King's displeasure, and a little zeal in the execution of some acts made in favour of the Church would atone for the many errors of his administration, excused his coming up upon that account, and set about the thing with great vigour.

An act passed in the last Parliament to restore the right of patronage, whereby all who had been elected by the Church session and lay elders (as was then the custom) were declared unlawful possessors of their livings, and required to take presentations from the proper patrons, and get themselves instituted by the bishops, otherwise their churches were declared vacant on Michaelmas day. This was owning the bishops' authority, and renouncing their former principles; and therefore the heads of the party who were then at Edinburgh, when they saw the storm coming upon them, settled these measures, and sent advices to them all round the country, that they should do or say nothing that might give a particular distaste, but look on and do their duty as long as they were connived at, and when any proclamation commanded them to be silent, obey it all at once, for they thought that if great numbers were turned out at once, it would make such a vacancy and destitution of Divine service in the nation, that the Government, unable to fill their places on a sudden, would be obliged to take them in again, if it were but to allay the popular clamour. The Earl, on the other hand, had such a mean opinion of them, that he believed they would comply with anything rather than lose their benefices; so a proclamation was issued out, without ever consulting the bishops about it, requiring all who held their livings without presentations, and who had not obeyed the late act, to give over all further preaching and attendance on their cure, and withdraw immediately from their parishes; and the military men of the country were ordered to pull them out of their pulpits if they presumed to go on in their function. The submission, however, was universal, and without any opposition or noise, which, in a party so little accustomed to it, was much magnified at Court as the effect of Lord Middleton's steady conduct and zeal; but the clamour of putting thus several counties, as it were, under an interdict, was so great that all endeavours were used to get the vacancies filled up as fast as possible, and an invitation, much like a hue and cry, was sent over the kingdom to all persons to accept of benefices in the west, where the ministers were most of them protesters, and would not comply with the act. The livings in that part of the kingdom were generally well endowed, and the parsonage-houses in good repair; and this drew many worthless persons thither, who had little learning, less piety, and no manner of discretion, but great prejudices conceived against them, and many difficulties to contend with.

The former incumbents were a grave, solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager and their tempers sour; but they had an appearance that created respect. They were related to the chief families in the country, either by blood or marriage, and had lived in so decent a manner that the gentry paid them great respect. They used to visit their parishioners much, to live in great familiarity with them, and, in matters of religion, to make them their partners, as it were, and companions. They were so full of the Scriptures, and so ready at extemporary prayer, that from thence they grew to practise extemporary sermons; and their method of preaching was so clear in raising observations on points of doctrine out of the text, then proving these observations by reasons, and so showing the use that was to be made of the whole for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves, and for furnishing them with proper helps and directions, that the people could follow a sermon through every branch of it with a small retention of memory. They kept scandalous persons under very severe discipline. For a breach of the Sabbath, an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the Church Session, which consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, together with the minister, and were solemnly reproved for it. For fornication they were three Sundays successively, and in the time of Divine service, seated on a high place in the church called the stool or pillar of repentance, there to receive exhortations and make professions of their sorrow for their sin; but for adultery they were to sit six months in that place, covered with sackcloth. These things had a grave appearance, and, in conjunction with the pains they took in their parishes, gained them great reverence and esteem; for their faults and defects were not so conspicuous, though they were men of no learning, little capacity, and much passion and indiscretion; affected in their deportment, and very apt to censure those who differed from them; superstitious and haughty in their temper, but servile and ready to fawn upon all who did admire them; in their sermons, railers at courts and governments; and, in their principles of Church independency, sowers of strife and fomenters of sedition.

These ministers had, for many months before their ejection, been infusing into their people that all that was designed in the change of Church government was to destroy the power of godliness and to give an impunity to vice; that prelacy was a tyranny in the Church set up by ambitious and covetous men, who aimed at nothing but authority and wealth, luxury and idleness, and to procure to themselves a party among the impious and immoral. These suggestions, with what the people saw of the Earl of Middleton's extravagances while he was among them, and with what they heard of Sharp's treachery to those who had employed him, and the rest of the bishops' prevarication, wrought very strong prejudices in them, which the weakness and wickedness of the new incumbents tended mightily to confirm; for they were the worst preachers that ever were heard, ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious—a disgrace indeed to their function, and the very dregs and refuse of the North; and of the few who rose above contempt and scandal, their tempers were so violent that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

These were the fatal beginnings of restoring Episcopacy in Scotland, and the success could not well be expected to be prosperous, where such incompetent agents were employed in the work. But to proceed now with the affairs of England.

The declaration for a general toleration occasioned a great alarm among the Church party, and some of Lord Clarendon's friends not only inveighed against it with great severity, but made strong indications likewise that the Earl of Bristol was the first adviser and procurer of it. The Earl of Bristol was highly displeased at this, and resolved to leave no method unattempted to ruin Lord Clarendon. He had a great skill in astrology, and, by the principles of that art, pretended to demonstrate to the King that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not by his hand. Lord Clarendon consequently was to be suspected of the conspiracy, and this would be a means, he thought, to alienate the King from them both; but it had a contrary effect in this particular—that however it affected the Earl of Clarendon, it made the King only more afraid to offend the Duke ever afterwards.

When this would not do, the Lord Bristol resolved to offer articles of impeachment against the Earl of Clarendon to the House of Lords; and when the King, in a soft and gentle manner, was dissuading him from it, he told him plainly that if he deserted him in that prosecution he would raise such disorders as not only all England, but he himself should largely feel—a threat that must have proceeded from his being in the secret of the King's religion. And accordingly next day he carried a charge against Lord Clarendon, of a very strange and mixed nature, to the House; but as soon as he put it in he very likely repented of what he had done, for he thought proper to abscond till the storm he had raised was over, though at the same time he made the matter worse in a letter to the Lords, expressing his fear of the danger he conceived the King's person was in from the Duke's having guards, and was ever after that looked upon as a man whose resentments would carry him to any extravagances.

Notwithstanding the King's declaration, the Parliament this session expressed a firm resolution of maintaining the Act of Uniformity, and passed another (wherein they showed great confidence in the King) repealing that of Triennial Parliaments, which had been obtained with no small difficulty, and was accounted the main security of the subject's liberty. They gave the King likewise four subsidies, and the Convocation did the same; but this was the last aid that the clergy gave separately; their benefices were afterwards taxed as temporal estates, and Convocations thenceforward, being no more necessary to the Crown, became less considerable, and, though meeting sometimes for form's sake, were usually prorogued or discontinued at pleasure.

The French counsels at this time began to show their prevalence in our Court, and without any visible cause of war, except a ship taken or some such slight offence, were fomenting a quarrel between England and Holland, in hopes that their fleets would mutually weaken one another so much that the naval force of France, which was then considerably increasing, might become a match for either of them when shattered by war. And to this purpose, while they encouraged us to insist on some extravagant demands, they at the same time pressed the Dutch not to yield to them; and as they put them in hopes that if a rupture should follow, they would assist them according to their alliance, so they assured us that they would not interfere in the thing or give us any molestation. Downing had been Cromwell's ambassador in Holland, where he had offered personal affronts both to the King and his brother; but by some base practices had got himself so effectually recommended by the Duke of Albemarle that all his former offences were forgiven, and he sent again with the character of the King's ambassador into Holland: a crafty, fawning man, who was ready to turn to every side that was uppermost, and to betray those who, by their former friendship or services, thought they might depend on him.

When the King declared his resolution of entering into a war with the Dutch, the House of Commons was so far from examining into the grounds of it, that, without any difficulty, they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on. A large fleet was set out, which the Duke of York commanded in person, as Opdam did the Dutch fleet. But much about the time that the war commenced a great comet appeared, that raised the apprehensions of those who did not understand the nature of such-like phenomena; and a most terrible plague broke out, that depopulated the city of London, ruined the trade of the nation, and swept away about a hundred thousand persons. These were looked upon as characters of Divine wrath, and gave but a melancholy prospect of the issue of the war. However, when the two fleets met and engaged, the advantage was so manifest on the English side, that had they pursued their success, as they might, in all probability they had either taken or sunk the whole Dutch fleet. But herein lay the miscarriage: when the Dutch, finding themselves in danger, began to steer off, the Duke ordered all the sail to be set on, that he might overtake them; and, after a council of war to concert the method of action, went to sleep, bidding those about him give him a call as soon as they were come up with them. What passed between him and Brunker, who was of his bedchamber, and then in waiting, is not so well known; whether his sense of the obstinate courage of the Dutch, who are never so gallant as when they are desperate; or the charge that the Duchess had given all his servants, not to suffer him to engage too far or his seeing the Earl of Falmouth and two other persons o quality killed so very near him, might alter his mind, or make some timorous impression upon him; but so it was, Brunker went, as from the Duke to Penn, who commanded under him and said the Duke ordered the sails to be slackened, and Penn without any further examination, obeyed it a little too hastily not to be in the secret. Thus was a most advantageous opportunity lost; and though the Duke denied that he ever gave such an order, yet his neither punishing Brunker for carrying it, nor Penn for obeying it, occasioned surmises that so much lenity upon such a provocation was an argument of some confederacy more than the result of his temper.

De Witt was at this time pensioner of Holland, and, imputing this misfortune of the fleet to some errors in conduct, he determined the next year to go on board himself. He was a frank sincere man, without fraud, or any other artifice but silence he had a great clearness of apprehension, a large compass o mathematical knowledge, and had applied algebra to matters of trade more than any man before him. He had made himself so entirely master of the state of Holland, that he understood exactly the concerns of their revenue, and what sums and in what manner, could be raised upon any emergency. But he knew nothing of modern history, nothing of the state o Courts, and was eminently defective in all points of form. He laid down this for a maxim—that all princes and states followed their own interests; and by attending to what their true interest were, he thought he could calculate what they were about; but he did not enough consider how far passions, amours, humours and opinions wrought on the world, and chiefly on princes. He was, however, as to the administration of justice at home, and the management of their trade and their forces by sea, the ablest minister that the Dutch ever had; and when he undertook the conduct of their fleet, attained a perfect understanding of all sea affairs in a very short time, and that very year recovered the disgrace of their former losses by keeping at sea after th English fleet was forced to put in.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was at this time envoy at the Court o Denmark, when that King one day complaining of the States of Holland, and how they had drawn the Swedish war upon him, on purpose to make him depend on them for supplies o money and shipping, thereby to get the customs of Norway and the Sound into their hands for their security, Sir Gilbert proposed that, now their Smyrna fleet, with many rich East and West Indian ships were come into Bergen, he should seize them all before their convoy could come up; and offered him assistance from the King his master to enable him to do it, upon condition that England might have half the spoil. The King consented; and the design was approved by the Court of England, and might happily have been executed, if the Earl of Sandwich, who came for that purpose, had forced the port at once, without observing forms or sending to the Viceroy of Norway to demand entrance, which, in messages backward and forward, wasted so much time that the Dutch had fortified it in such a manner that, though it was attacked with very great courage, it could not be carried; but, after a loss of many men and some ships, the attempt was given over as impracticable, and a fleet worth many millions of money suffered to escape.

England was at this time in sad distraction. The plague continued for most part of the summer in and about London, and began to spread around the country; many ministers were driven from town, and several churches were shut up, when people were in a more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons; whereupon some of the Nonconformists went into the empty pulpits, and preached with great freedom, reflecting on the vices of the Court and the severities that they themselves had been made to suffer. This was represented at Oxford (where the Parliament was then sitting) in very odious colours; and so a bill was brought in and passed, requiring all the silenced ministers to take an oath declaring that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, or at any time to endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. And such as refused to do this were not allowed to come within five miles of a city or Parliament borough, or any church where they had once served; which severity, in a time of war and public calamity, as it drew hard censures on the promoters of it, so it raised a compassion for the recusants, and occasioned many plentiful contributions for the relief of their necessities.

While the fleets were refitting against the next year, Algernon Sidney, and some others of the Commonwealth party, came to De Witt, and pressed him to think of an invasion of England and Scotland, giving him great assurance of a powerful assistance, and hopes of a general insurrection in both nations; but he would not engage in so hazardous a design. All that he aimed at was to weaken the trade of England, and to destroy her fleet, in which he succeeded the next year beyond expectation.

The English fleet was divided into two squadrons. Monk commanded the greater (for the Duke was not to go to sea this year), which consisted of between fifty and sixty ships of the line, and Prince Rupert was sent with a squadron of about five-and-twenty to meet the French fleet, and hinder their conjunction with the Dutch, which the French had promised, but never once attempted. The Dutch fleet came out, having De Witt and some of the States on board, and engaged the English for two days, in which they had a manifest superiority, for they were more in number, and so well furnished with chain-shot (a contrivance that De Witt had the honour to be thought the inventor of), that the English fleet was quite unrigged, and being in no condition to work themselves off, must inevitably have been all lost, had not Prince Rupert, who was still in the Channel, and heard the engagement by the continued roaring of the guns, come up very seasonably to their relief, and made the Dutch (who had suffered very much likewise), upon the accession of such a force, steer off. Thus was our fleet very happily saved; but when the Court gave out that it was a victory, and appointed public thanksgivings for it, they seemed not unwilling, for a little national boast and glory, to incur the imputation both of mocking God and lying unto men.

To complete the miseries of this year, no sooner was the plague so abated in London that the inhabitants began to return to their houses, than a most dreadful fire, on the 2nd of September, broke out in the City, and raged for three days, as if it had commission to devour everything that was in its way. Above twelve thousand houses were burnt down, with the greatest part of the furniture and merchandise that were in them. All means used to stop it proved ineffectual, for the wind was so high that flakes of fire and burning matter were carried in the air across several streets, and spread the conflagration everywhere. But what is a very miraculous circumstance, amidst all this destruction and public confusion, no person was known either to be burnt or trodden to death in the streets. The King and the Duke, with the Guards, were almost all the day on horseback, seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire or for carrying off persons and goods to the fields. The King was never observed to be so much struck with anything in his whole life; but the Duke's behaviour was a little too gay and negligent for such an occasion, and a jealousy of his being concerned in it was upon that account spread about with great industry, but with very little appearance of truth. The question was then and is still a secret, whether this fire came casually or on design; and however the general opinion might be that it was casual, yet there are some presumptions on the other side of a very odd nature.

The English fleet had some time before landed on the Vly, an island near the Texel, and burnt it, upon which some came to De Witt, and offered, in revenge, if they were but assisted, to set London on fire. But he rejected the proposal, and thought no more on it till the city was burnt. In the April before some Commonwealth's men were found in a plot and hanged, and at their execution confessed that they had been requested to assist in a design of burning London on the 2nd of September. When the city was burnt, one Hubert, a French Papist, was apprehended in Essex as he was endeavouring to make his escape. He owned that he was the person who first set it on fire, and persisted in that confession to the very last, for he was hanged upon no other evidence, though the broken account he gave of the whole matter made some believe that he was melancholy mad. But the passage of most suspicion was, that one Grant, a Papist, being employed by the Countess of Clarendon to take care of her estate in the New River that was brought from Ware to London, and having upon that account a right to view the works at Islington as oft as he pleased, came thither on the Saturday before, and calling for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, he turned the cocks and stopped the water, and went away carrying the keys with him: so that when the fire broke out next morning, and the pipes in the streets were opened, there was no water to be found, and it was a long time before they could come at any to quench it. These were some presumptions of the City's being burnt by design; but when they came to be laid before a Committee of the House of Commons appointed for the purpose, they were found of no weight, and the many stories that were published at that time with great assurance were, upon strict examination, void of all credibility, as the Committee reported.

To go now to the affairs of Scotland.

The Incapacitating Act by way of ballot had so provoked the King, that when the Earl of Middleton came up to London he was but coldly received, and at the first meeting of the Scottish Council the Earl of Lauderdale accused him of many malversations in the great trust he had been in, and aggravated them severely. Lord Middleton's excuse was, that though he might have transgressed in point of form, being not so well acquainted with the law, yet his whole purpose had been to promote the King's service, to provide for his friends, to humble his enemies, and to encourage a loyal Parliament; and in doing this, that he had kept everything so entirely in the King's power, that he could not be involved in any difficulties occasioned by his administration. Nor wanted he friends to intercede for him. Sheldon was very earnest with the King to forgive him, as the only means to support the change so lately made in the Church. The Duke of Albemarle represented that Lord Middleton's friends were the only persons of zeal and capacity to carry on the King's service; and Sharp, upon this occasion, pretended to go up and lay before the King that his standing or falling must be the standing or falling of the Church. But when he came to London and saw that the King was quite alienated from Lord Middleton, he made a most abject submission to the Earl of Lauderdale, with tears for his former attachment to a contrary party, and promises of an entire resignation of himself for the future.

While these things were in agitation, an accident happened that hastened Lord Middleton's disgrace. The Earl of Lauderdale had laid before the King the Committee's unjust proceedings with relation to fines, and had procured a letter to the Council of Scotland, ordering them to issue out a proclamation for superseding the execution of the Act of Fining till further orders. Soon as Lord Middleton knew of this, he wrote down to the Council to countermand it by the King's direction, as he pretended; but the King protested he knew nothing of it, and accordingly resented it; for in the latter end of May he called many of the English councillors together, and having ordered the allegations against Lord Middleton to be read, he declared, in bar of all further intercessions for him, that his errors had been so many and so great that the credit of his affairs must suffer if he continued them any longer in such hands; and so in a few days sent a warrant to demand his commission, which was afterwards given to the Earl of Rothes, one who was always dependent on the Lord Lauderdale, notwithstanding his high character, and in his whole ministry directed by his counsels.

One of the first things that was done in this session of Parliament was the execution of Warriston, who, before his attainder, had made his escape, but was afterwards delivered up by France, whither he had fled for refuge, into the King's hands. He had lived formerly in great friendship with the Earl of Lauderdale, but at this critical juncture he would not interpose in his favour, though he was so disordered both in body and mind that it was really a reproach to the Government to proceed against him. His memory was so far gone that he did not know his own children; and when he was brought before the Parliament, to show cause why his execution should not be awarded, his words were disordered, and his deportment unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition. When he came to die, however, he showed more composedness and serenity; and, in a long speech, which he read twice on the scaffold, justified all the proceedings in the Covenant, and asserted his own sincerity; but he condemned his joining with Cromwell and the sectaries, though, even in that, his designs, he said, had been upright, for the good of his country and the security of religion.

The Parliament proceeded next to lay open the whole affair of balloting last session, which both finished Lord Middleton's disgrace, and discarded all his friends from their employments. They then passed an act declaring the constitution of a national synod, much of the same model with the English Convocation; an act of great severity against conventicles, almost in the same terms with what had been passed in England; and two more, wherein they seemed to place great confidence in the King, and to make him no small compliment; for in the one of them they left the laying of impositions on all foreign merchandise wholly to him, and in the other they offered him an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, to be ready upon summons, to march with forty days' provision into any part of his Majesty's dominions, to suppress insurrections, or in any other cause wherein his authority, power, or greatness was concerned. And after these acts were passed the Parliament was dissolved, to the general satisfaction of the country (for they were a furious set of people), and the Government was left in the Earl of Glencairn's hands, who was always an enemy to Sharp's violent proceedings, but he lived not long to molest him.

When the Parliament was up, the Privy Council was not so forward to put acts in execution as was expected; and therefore Sharp went to London to complain of their remissness, as destructive to the Church, and to desire a letter from the King, giving him the precedence of the Lord Chancellor (which was thought an extravagant piece of vanity), and a special commission to some persons for executing the laws relating to the Church, which was to be a kind of High Commission Court; but his success in these points was not till after the Earl of Glencairn's death, which set him at ease, and put him upon a new design of procuring the Seals to himself; but when he could not succeed therein (though no art or dissimulation was wanting in the management of it), he prevailed, however, that the Earl of Rothes might have them, because he knew him to be a person whom he could entirely govern; and so, when they had got such instructions as they required to prepare matters for a National Synod, and in the meanwhile to execute the laws relating to the Church with a steady firmness, they both came down to Scotland, where a furious scene of illegal violences began.

The people of the West, upon the exclusion of the old ministers, became very sullen and refractory, and complained of the new set that was sent among them as stupid, ignorant, and immoral. They treated them with a great deal of contempt, and the aversion they had to them broke out sometimes into violence and injustice. Nor were the ministers wanting to complain in their turns, and to possess the bishops with many stories of designs and plottings against the State, so that many were brought before the Council and the new Ecclesiastical Commission, for pretended riots, for using their ministers ill, but chiefly for not coming to church, and holding conventicles; and when proofs were defective, and lay rather in presumptions than any clear evidence, the punishments proposed were often arbitrary and unwarranted by law. Great numbers were by this means cast in prison, where they were kept long, and ill used; some were fined, and the younger sort were whipped about the streets; all which did but increase their aversion, and raise keener resentments in their minds.

Burnet, who, upon the death of Fairfoul, was promoted to the archbishopric of Glasgow, was of himself a soft, good-natured man, tolerably learned, and of a blameless life, but so much in the power of others, that, though himself was inclinable to moderate counsels, yet he was apt to take, even to a great degree, a contrary impression, if it was given him, very easily. He was sent up to possess the King with the apprehensions of a rebellion in the beginning of the Dutch war, and proposed that if about twenty of the chief gentlemen in those parts were secured, the peace of the country might be preserved. The gentlemen were secured accordingly; but the whole odium of their imprisonment was charged upon the clergy, and increased the people's hatred and animosity against them.

Wherever the people had forsaken their churches, guards were quartered through the country. Sir James Turner, who commanded them, was naturally fierce, but mad when drunk, and that was very often. He went about the country, and received such lists as the ministers brought him of those who came not to church, and then, without any proof or legal conviction, set such a fine on them as he thought they were able to pay, and sent soldiers to quarter upon them till the payment was made; but in this he was not so much to blame as others. He was a military man, and knew no other rule but to obey orders; and though he was often chid, as he said, both by Lord Rothes and Sharp, for not acting up to the rigour of them, he was never once found fault with for any of his illegal methods of oppression or cruelty.

The truth is, the whole face of the Government looked more like the proceedings of an Inquisition than of legal courts; but Sharp was never satisfied, and, the next time he went to Court, he complained to the King of the Earl of Lauderdale, even before his face, as of one who had obstructed the interest of the Church, and given secret encouragement to the fanatics (as was then their name of reproach), to persist in their opposition to the Government. But when Lord Lauderdale, by the King's directions, demanded his accusation in writing, and vowed in an angry tone that, unless he could make it good, he would prosecute him upon the Statute of Leasing-making, he began to tremble and cry, and, for fear of further mischief, went to the King and retracted all he had said in so gross a manner that the King said afterwards Lord Lauderdale was ill-natured to press it so heavily, and to force Sharp on giving himself the lie in such coarse terms.

The proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission were everywhere so violent, and gave such offence to many good men, that Bishop Leighton was prevailed on to go up to Court, and to give the King a true account of them; and his purpose was likewise to resign his bishopric, and to retire, since he could not be accessory to what was done in this manner, and retain a good conscience, though there were no violences committed in his diocese; for he went round it continually every year, preaching and catechizing in every parish; he continued in his private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expense of his own person, to the poor; he studied to raise in his clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls; and was in all respects a burning light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese, and not disregarded by those who dissented from him.

The King seemed concerned for the state the country was in, and, speaking with some severity against Sharp, assured Leighton that he would in a short time put a stop to such violent proceedings; and accordingly gave orders that the Ecclesiastical Commission should be discontinued, because another way of management was necessary to his affairs; and indeed it was high time, for not only those who suffered under them, but many of the most eminent Episcopal clergy likewise, were highly offended at these severities, as contrary to the meek spirit of the gospel, and tending only to confirm men's prejudices against the Church.

Nairn was the politest man of all the Scotch divines; he had formed clear and lively schemes of things, and was the most eloquent of all their preachers; he considered the pastoral function as a dedication of the whole man to God and his service; he read the moral philosophers much, and had wrought in himself the same equal temper, so far as was consistent with his natural fervour, all which he turned into melting devotion. He had a true notion of superstition, as a narrowness of soul and meanness of thought in religion; and studied to raise in all who conversed with him right conceptions of God and a universal charity to mankind; and this made him pity the Presbyterians, as men of low notions and sullen tempers, and therefore more likely to be wrought upon by lenity than persecution.

Charteris was a man of a composed and serene gravity, but without affectation or sourness; for he had a great sweetness in his temper, and endeavoured to make religion amiable in his whole deportment. His contempt of the world and neglect of himself, his silence in company and prudence in conduct, fervent love and fervent piety, were very remarkable; for he was indeed a very perfect friend, and a most sublime Christian.

He had gone through the chief parts of learning, had read the fathers much, and was often used to lament that among all the searches that had been made into them to state the nature of Church government, no care had been yet taken to set out in a proper light their notions of the sacred function, of the preparation of mind and inward vocation wherewith men ought to come to holy orders, or of the strictness of life, the heavenly temper, and constant application to do good that afterwards became them. These were two clergymen of singular note; and together with these, many who set themselves to read history, and to observe the state of the Primitive Church and the spirit of those times, could not but perceive a vast repugnancy in the present management of things, and so great a difference between the constitution of the Church under those bishops and their own, that they seemed to agree in nothing but the name; for all the present set (except Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, who was a man of a rare temper and great piety and prudence) were not only furious against all who stood out against them, but very remiss in all the parts of their function. Some did not live within their dioceses, and those who did seemed to take no care of them; they showed no zeal against vice; they took no pains to keep their clergy strict to rules. On the contrary, the most eminently wicked in the country were their confidants; and about themselves there was such a levity and carnal way of living as scandalised the author of this history, and put him upon drawing up a memorial, when he was but three-and-twenty years old, of some grievances occasioned by their ill-conduct; wherein he showed that, by neglecting their diocese, meddling so much in secular affairs, raising their families out of the revenues of the Church, and, above all, by their violent persecuting of those who differed from them, they had quite departed from the constitution of the Primitive Church. This memorial he sent in manuscript to several of the bishops. This nettled Sharp to such a degree that he was for summarily depriving and excommunicating the author, but that the rest of the bishops refused to give in to the fury of his resentment.

The King, by this time, came to have a very indifferent opinion of Sharp's integrity, which was every day confirmed to him by one incident or other. He had received intelligence from Holland that the Dutch were encouraging an insurrection in Scotland, whereupon he called together as many of the Privy Councillors of that kingdom as were then in town (for the Scottish Council at Whitehall was discontinued after Lord Middleton's fall), and asked their advice about some additional forces that he thought necessary to be raised upon that occasion. The money that came in upon fines was given by act of Parliament among those who had served and suffered for the King, and the King was only intrusted with the distribution of it; so when the question was put how the new forces were to be paid, Sharp readily answered, that the money collected by fines was not yet disposed of, and proposed the application of it to that use. By this means all the Cavaliers, who were come up with their pretensions, were disappointed in their last hopes of finding a recompense for their sufferings; and when they charged Sharp with giving his advice, he called it a wicked and diabolical invention, wherein they had no share, which was afterwards carried to the King; and, to complete his disgrace, Lord Lauderdale got many of his letters, which he had wrote to the Presbyterians, after the time he was negotiating for Episcopacy, in which he continued to protest with what zeal he was soliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations upon himself if he did prevaricate with them. These he laid before the King, and from that time forward the King looked on him as one of the worst of men.

The severities exercised in the west put that part of the kingdom in a great fermentation. The people were told that the nation was in a general disposition to revolt, and that the fire of London had put things in that confusion at Court, that any vigorous attempt would disorder all the King's affairs, and rescue them from the tyranny under which they groaned. Hereupon a body of men got together, and, under the conduct of two officers, Colonel Wallace and Learmoth, who had served in the late wars, marched directly to Dumfries, where they surprised Turner before he could get to arms, and at the same time seized all his papers and instructions, and a good quantity of money, that had partly been sent to pay his men and partly raised by fines levied in the country.

Upon the first suspicion of an insurrection, the King had sent for two gallant officers who had served him in the wars, and, when these were over, had gone with his letters to serve in Muscovy (where one of them, Dalzell, was advanced to be a general, and the other, Drummond, was made a lieutenant-general, and Governor of Smolensk), designing to put the new-raised forces under their command. Sharp, in the absence of the Earl of

Rothes, was at the head of the Government, so that he took the management of this little war upon him, and ordered Dalzell to draw all the force he had together and march westward. But the report of their late success made many run to the rebels, who now came to be called Whigs, and began to appear in the form of an army, and published their manifesto, wherein they denied that they took up arms against the King, but complained of the oppressions they had suffered, and desired that Episcopacy might be put down, Presbytery and the Covenant set up, and their ministers restored to them again; and then they promised that in all other things they would approve themselves obedient subjects.

Sharp, all this while, was in a dreadful consternation. He wrote dismal letters to the Court, magnifying the strength of the enemy, and praying that more forces might be sent down; and once he moved in Council that they should all go and shut themselves up in the Castle of Edinburgh; but that was thought a little too inglorious. The Whigs marched on towards Edinburgh, and came within two miles of the place, but finding neither town nor country declare for them, and their number decreasing and dropping away apace, they lost heart, and as they were returning into the west again, Dalzell, who had pursued them very closely, on the 28th of November, a little after sunset, came up with them, and they, perceiving that they could not get off, stopped their march. They had the advantage of being posted on a hill; their ministers did all they could, by preaching and praying, to infuse courage into them, and the first charge of the King's troops they received very resolutely, and put them in some disorder; but that was the whole action, for immediately they threw away their arms, and ran for their lives. About forty were killed on the spot, a hundred and thirty were taken, and the rest were favoured by the darkness of the night and the weariness of the King's forces, who were neither in a condition to pursue them, nor had, indeed, any great inclination to it, for they were a poor harmless company of men, exasperated by wrongs, and made mad by oppression.

The two archbishops were now delivered out of their fear, and the common observation that cruelty and cowardice go together was too visibly verified upon this occasion. The Earl of Rothes came down full of rage, and, by their instigation, was resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the prisoners. Burnet advised the hanging of all who would not renounce the Covenant and conform to the laws for the future; and Sharp encouraged the ministers in disaffected counties to bring in what information they could get, not only against the rebels, but against all who had been concerned with them; and the ministers, on this occasion, acted a part so ill befitting their character, that they became detestable, and were looked upon as wolves, not as shepherds. The best of the Episcopal clergy, indeed, advised the bishops to make use of this opportunity of recovering the affections of the country by becoming intercessors for these poor people; and some of the bishops both entered into this, and sent largely to their support in prison, especially Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who, though a rough man and exasperated by ill-usage, expressed a very kind and Christian temper on this occasion. But nothing could mollify Sharp; he not only laboured to procure evidence against them, but precluded the mercy of others, and urged their execution. Ten of them were hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh, and five-and-thirty more were sent to their respective counties, and hanged before their own doors. They were most of them mean and inconsiderable persons in all respects, and had the offer of their lives if they would renounce the Covenant, but they were firm and inflexible in their persuasions, and, when they came to die, avowed their cause, and expressed great joy in their sufferings.

Among the rest there was one M'Kail, a probationer preacher only, who had been chaplain in Sir James Steward's house, and, upon one account or other, being supposed to know more of the matter than the rest, was put to the torture which they call the boots,[1] to draw a confession from him; but he bore it with great constancy, and notwithstanding the intensity of his pain, died in a rapture of joy, and with these last words in his mouth: "Farewell, sun and moon and stars, farewell kindred and friends, farewell world and time, farewell weak and frail body; welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the Judge of all!" which he spoke with such a voice and manner as affected deeply all who heard him, and the outcry against his death became more popular when it was afterwards known that Burnet, who was come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the

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[1] The torture of the boots in Scotland is when they put a pair of iron boots close on the legs, and then drive wedges between them. The common way is to drive them in at the calf of the leg, but in some cases they are driven upon the shin-bone.

King, prohibiting any further effusion of blood, and ordering that such as would conform to the Government should be discharged, and the incorrigible sent to plantations, which letter he never produced until after the execution was over.

After the suppression of this rebellion the forces were ordered to lie in the west, where Dalzell acted the Muscovite too grossly, and committed many monstrous barbarities. Some he threatened to spit and roast alive; others he killed in cold blood, or rather in hot, for he was almost always drunk; and those who refused to come to church he used to quarter so many soldiers upon as were enough to eat them up in one night. By this means a terror was struck into the country, and people began to come regularly to church for fear. This delighted the clergy highly, who, looking upon the soldiery as, in this respect, their best patrons, were not a little solicitous to be constantly in their company, and not at all ashamed to run with them into all riots and excess, if not to go before them in some gross instances of wickedness and immorality.

This was the state of Scotland, harassed with cruelty and overrun with oppression and vice, when affairs in England were under the last distraction. The Parliament had given about five millions towards the expense of the Dutch war; but through the luxury and waste of the Court, this money was so squandered away that the King could neither set out fleet nor defend his coasts. It was pretended that the peace at Breda was so near a conclusion that there was no necessity to put the nation to further expense, and so the Dutch sailed up the Medway, and with little or no obstruction fell upon our ships at Chatham, and might, no doubt, have done much more mischief had they come up the Thames and pursued the advantage of our first consternation. The damage sustained by this action was not greater than was the disgrace of it, and the King's behaviour in a time of such imminent danger was not much applauded; for, instead of appearing at the head of his people, he only sent down the Duke of Albemarle, and was intending himself to retire to Windsor; but, being prevailed on to stay, was very pleasant that night at supper with his mistresses, which occasioned odd reflections, and drew upon him many libels wrote with such a wit and malice as brought him under a general contempt.

Under these disadvantages the King foresaw that he could not meet his Parliament without reproach, and therefore he thought that the disgracing a public minister, who, by being long in a very eminent post, had drawn upon himself much envy and many enemies, would assuage some discontents and cover himself and the rest of the Court.

The Earl of Clarendon, ever since the declaration of the Duke's marriage with his daughter, found his credit declining. The Earl of Bristol, upon this presumption, had exhibited articles against him; the Lady Castlemain was violently enraged at him; and whenever the Duke of Buckingham was admitted to any familiarities with the King, he studied, with all his wit and humour, to make his counsels appear ridiculous. The projecting a match between the King and the Infanta of Portugal, to wrong the nation of an heir, and, by that means, to raise his own grandchildren, and the diminution of what authority and revenue some intended to have given the King at his Restoration, with many more crimes of the like nature, were charged upon him to exasperate the King against him. His building a large house in the time of public calamity, amounting to the expense of almost fifty thousand pounds, occasioned a general outcry; and his employing the stones designed for the reparation of St. Paul's to that purpose (how slight soever it might be in itself) had a great effect by the management of his enemies. And, what was a great misfortune to him at this time, he had lost his chief friend, to whom he trusted most, and who was his greatest support, the Earl of Southampton, who died of the stone, and in most exquisite torture, but bore it all with the firmness of a great man, and the submission of a good Christian.

Lord Clarendon, being thus pushed at on every side, had his fall hastened and the King's anger sharpened against him by a certain disappointment in one of his amours. The Queen-mother had brought over with her from France one Mrs. Steward, a very beautiful woman, who had gained so much on the King, and yet had kept her ground with such a firmness, that the King seemed to design, if possible, to legitimate his addresses to her, when he saw no hope of succeeding any other way. Whether the Earl of Clarendon suspected the thing or no is uncertain, but the King was informed that he persuaded the lady by all means to marry the Duke of Richmond, who made pretensions to her at the same time; and as she found herself pressed by the King, he prevailed with her at last to go privately from Whitehall and be married to him, without giving the King any notice. A disappointment of this nature made that deep impression upon the King that he was resolved to ruin Lord Clarendon for being the supposed adviser of it; and accordingly he took the Seals from him, and gave them to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, then in great esteem, but which he did not maintain long after his advancement; for he was always bred to another court, and seemed not to apprehend what equity was.

At the very first opening of the Parliament there seemed to be a conspiracy in the Lower House to destroy Lord Clarendon. Twenty-three articles were exhibited against him, and when he made the offer that if any one could be proved fairly he would submit to the censure due upon them all, they declined that offer as conscious of the insufficiency of the proof, and sent up at the same time a general impeachment of high treason to the bar of the Lords, demanding that he might be committed upon it.

The Duke was at this time taken with the small-pox, and so was out of the debate; but the opinion of the House was, that the general accusation was only a clamour, and that their dignities signified little if a clamour was enough to send them to prison; and so, after several debates and conferences and protestations, the majority of the House stood firm, and adhered to their resolution against commitment. All this while Lord Clarendon's friends pressed the King in his behalf that at least he might be suffered to go off without censure, since he had served both his father and himself so long, so faithfully, and with so good success; but the King was inflexible, and expressed such a violent and irreconcilable aversion to him as shocked the sentiments of all who were not engaged in the party. He desired his brother, however, to persuade Lord Clarendon to go beyond seas, as the only expedient to make up the breach between the two Houses, and let fall some kind words in case he would comply. Lord Clarendon was all obedience; and so, partly to serve the King, and partly to save himself and family, he went privately beyond sea; and when he was at Calais wrote a letter to the House of Lords, protesting his innocence in all the points objected against him, and desiring them to believe that it was not any consciousness of guilt that made him withdraw himself, but an unwillingness to be any longer the unhappy occasion of any difference between the two Houses, and obstruction to public business. This his enemies called a confession of guilt, and a flying from justice; and therefore they brought in a bill, and passed it with a good deal of opposition, to banish him the King's dominions for ever, and to make it treason for any, without the King's permission, to correspond with him.

Thus fell the great Earl of Clarendon under the common fate of ministers of his high rank, whose employment exposes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all who are disappointed in their pretensions. Their friends forsake them, and sometimes turn violently against them; and princes are so little sensible of their services that they sometimes sacrifice them to the humour of a mistress or the passion of a rising favourite. He had two sons: the elder, who succeeded to the title after his decease, was a man naturally sincere, friendly, and good-natured. He was very early engaged in great secrets, for his father employed him as his secretary when very young; and in that capacity he was so discreet, as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him. His conversation was somewhat tedious, and his judgment not much to be depended on, for he was often carried away by vulgar prejudices and false notions. Of all the family he was the most trusted and best beloved by his father, for he was humble and obliging, though sometimes peevish; and by his father's ill-usage was so provoked that he struck in violently with the party that opposed the Court, which made the King always speak of him with scorn and severity enough. His brother, the Earl of Rochester, was a man of far greater parts: a good writer, but no very graceful speaker, though otherwise a great master of insinuation and address. During the whole dispute concerning his father he made his court so dexterously that no resentment ever appeared on that head. As he came into business, and rose to high posts, he grew violent, and gave up his own notions to his party, that he might lead them; but he was always incorrupt, and thought to be sincere, because he seemed to have too much heat to be false.

As soon as the Earl of Clarendon was gone, the Government, which ran all in favour of the Church party before, began to put on another aspect. Bridgeman, who succeeded to the Seals, was a person of great integrity, and had serious impressions of religion on his mind. He was always on the side of the Church, but had a great tenderness for the Nonconformists, and (the bishops having disobliged him by their adherence to Lord Clarendon) was now in a disposition to befriend them. The Duke of Buckingham, since Lord Clarendon's fall, was received into great favour, and set up for a patron of liberty of conscience. Wilkins, who was lately promoted to the see of Chester, was a man of moderation, and yet had a courage in him that could stand against a current, and against all reproaches that an ill-natured clergy could throw upon him. The King, too, who had that command of himself that, whenever his interest led him to court any sort of men, he could do it so dexterously and with such an air of sincerity as would easily impose upon them, made it now believed, both by his behaviour and constant declarations against the ambition, covetousness, and many scandals of the clergy, that since the Church of England was gone off from him, he was resolved to show some favour to sectaries, both to soften them and to force the others to come back to their dependence upon him.

Upon this presumption Bridgeman and Wilkins set on foot a treaty for a comprehension of such of the Dissenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and a toleration for the rest; and a project was prepared, consisting chiefly of those things that the King had promised by his Declaration in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was proposed—that those who had Presbyterian ordination should be received to serve in the Church by an imposition of hands, accompanied with a form of words importing that the person so ordained was received now to serve in the Church of England. This treaty became the subject of all conversations, and many wrote against it with too much severity. The author of the "Friendly Debate," though a very good man, was culpable in this respect; but the most virulent of all was Parker, afterwards made Bishop of Oxford by King James, a man full of satirical vivacity, but of no judgment, little virtue, and, as to religion, rather impious. After he had for some years entertained the nation with his wit and spleen, he was at last attacked by one of the liveliest drolls of the age,[1] who wrote in a burlesque strain, but in so peculiar and entertaining a manner as humbled the whole party, and gained all the laugh on his side. But whatever advantages the men of comprehension might have in other respects, the majority of the House of Commons was so possessed against them, that when it was known in a succeeding session that a bill was ready to be offered to the House for that end, a very extraordinary vote passed that no bill to that purpose should be received. The temper, however, that the King pretended to upon the matter of this comprehension, as well as the figure that he now seemed to make in the affairs of Europe (for he had brought about the peace between Castile and Portugal, and made an alliance with the Dutch, which was called the Triple Alliance,[1] because the King of Sweden, though then but a child, was engaged in it); this, I say, had a very good effect upon people's minds with relation to the King, and disposed them to forgive all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him, which was much shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war.

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[1] Andrew Marvel in "The Rehearsal Transposed."

The King's affairs in England, and the disposition that he seemed now to be in, made him think of altering his measures and softening his government everywhere. In the Scottish constitution it was an ancient custom to summon a Convention to meet within twenty days, who had power to levy money or petition for the redress of grievances; but could make no new laws, nor meddle with anything but that for which they were convened. In the Convention last year Sharp had presided, as named by the King's Commissioner; but in this the King by a special letter appointed the Duke of Hamilton to preside, and sent orders to Sharp to stay within his diocese and come no more to Edinburgh, under which slight disgrace he showed as much abjectness as he had insolence before, when he was in favour. After the Convention was over, the Earl of Rothes sent up Drummond to represent to the King the ill-affection of the western parts, and to propose as an expedient that he would give the Council a power to require all persons whom they suspected to renounce the Covenant, and, upon their refusal, to proceed against them as traitors. Drummond had a great measure of knowledge and learning, and some true impressions of religion in him; but he had too much of the air and temper of Russia, and thought that upon such powers granted there would be a great dealing in bribes and confiscations, which he promised himself a share in. In compliance, however, with so public a message, an instruction was sent down such as was desired; but at the same time a private letter to the Earl of Rothes, ordering no use should be made of it, because it was designed not to be executed, but only to strike terror in the ill-affected. The Convention continued the assessment for another year at six thousand pounds a month, which proved a great charge to the nation; and therefore Burnet was sent up at another time with a proposition of a very extraordinary nature, viz., that the western counties should be cantoned under a special government, and have peculiar taxes, together with the quartering of soldiers—for that they were the occasion of keeping up the army—imposed upon them. But the proposition was rejected as not countenanced by law, and Burnet was sent down with no other comfort but abundance of good words; for the King was now resolved to remove Lord Rothes, and put the affairs of Scotland under another management.

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[1] Sir William Temple has given us a particular account of that alliance himself. His Works were published in 2 vols. folio in 1720; and in 4 vols. 8vo in 1757, 1770, and 1814.

During the war the Scots had sent out many privateers, and with them brought in many rich prizes; and the Dutch, being provoked at this, sent Van Ghent with a good fleet into the Frith to burn the coast, and to recover such ships as were in that part. And he might, no doubt, have done great mischief had he attacked Leith harbour immediately, which was then full of ships; but he soon sailed out again, and joined De Ruyter in the shameful attempt upon Chatham. The country-people, however, ran down to the coasts and made a good appearance; but Lord Rothes being out of the way when this alarm happened was so aggravated by Lord Lauderdale that it prevailed with the King to begin the intended change sooner perhaps than he otherwise would; for he sent down a letter in June to remove the Lord Rothes from the Treasury, which was put in commission, though in compensation he gave him the Seals; and as soon as the peace of Breda was concluded, he signified his pleasure to the Council of having the army disbanded, by which means his authority as general, as well as his commission, was now at an end, after it had lasted three years. The pretence of his commission was to prepare matters for a National Synod, yet in all that time there was not one step made towards one; for the bishops seemed concerned for nothing except their authority and their revenues, nor took they any care of regulating either the worship or discipline of the Church.

To keep the nation quiet, after the disbanding of the army, it was proposed, as an expedient, that, instead of renouncing the Covenant (to which many were so averse), a bond should be given for keeping the peace, and against rising in arms; and at the same time a county militia raised and trained, but in places not so well affected, no foot, but only some troops of horse. And so an indemnity of a more comprehensive nature was proclaimed, requiring no more than a bond for the security of the national peace, which was accounted a test so mild that all, except some melancholy, superstitious persons, whose heads were always full of scruples, submitted to it; and a general satisfaction after this change, and a great appearance of public tranquillity, were everywhere seen.

The Earl of Lauderdale had acted with much steadiness and uniformity before; but at this time there happened a great alteration in his temper, which continued to the end of his life, occasioned by the humours of a profuse, imperious woman. Mr. Murray, of the bedchamber, had been page and whipping-boy to King Charles I. He was turned for a Court; very insinuating, very false, and of so revengeful a temper, that, rather than the counsels of his enemies should succeed, he would reveal them, and betray both them and the King. He was, however, in great credit with him, and had got a warrant to be made an earl, but lost that honour by not passing it under the Great Seal during the King's life. His eldest daughter, however, who was married to Sir Lionel Talmash, laid claim to the honour, and took upon her the title of Countess of Dysart. She was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts; had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing vivacity in conversation; had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematics and philosophy; but, what ruined these accomplishments, she was restless in her ambition, profuse in her expense, and of a most ravenous covetousness; nor was there anything she stuck at to compass her end, for she was violent in everything—a violent friend, and a much more violent enemy. She had been early in an acquaintance with Lord Lauderdale, not without some censure; and, after her husband's death, became so intimate with him, and gained such an ascendant over him, as much lessened him in the opinion of the world. For all applications were made to her; she sold places and disposed of offices, and took upon her not only to determine everything of this nature, but to direct his private conduct likewise, and, as the conceit took her, would make him fall out with all his friends.

Sir Robert Murray was in Scotland (when she took the advantage of his absence to foment a misunderstanding between Lord Lauderdale and him), administering public affairs with very great credit. Lord Tweeddale and he went on with unanimity, and reduced things to a much better regulation; all payments were duly made, and an overplus of £10,000 a year saved out of the revenue. A magazine of arms was bought with it, and several projects were set on foot for the encouragement of trade and manufactures; all vice was discouraged, justice impartially administered, and, to make some amends for the violences of the late administration, as well as to cast the odium of the late rebellion upon Lord Rothes and Burnet, a commission was sent to the western counties to examine into all the complaints of unjust and illegal oppressions by Turner, Dalzell, and others, and at the same time to take some cognisance of the lives and other qualifications of the clergy. Turner and some others had their commissions taken from them; but this did not satisfy the country, for the breaking an officer or two, they thought, was but a small reparation for so much bloodshed, and a less discouragement to the like proceedings for the future.

The clergy were ignorant and scandalous enough in all conscience; but they were so linked together in a brotherhood of iniquity, that they themselves would not accuse one another; and the people of the country pretending that to accuse a minister before a bishop was recognising his authority, which they denied, there was no other remedy but to constitute a court by a special commission from the King, made up of some of the laity as well as the clergy, to inquire into the truth of the scandalous reports that went upon them. This design Sharp seemed to be pleased with, though he abhorred it in his heart, as savouring of Erastianism. Burnet complained loudly of it as an infringement upon his particular jurisdiction, and a kind of declaration that he was not thought capable to judge his own clergy; and the clergy themselves called it a delivering them up to the will of their enemies, who hated them for their function's sake, and, upon a small encouragement, would testify any manner of falsehood against them; and these remonstrances (though it was very much approved of above) put a stop to the design.

The Presbyterians, hereupon finding a relaxation in the execution of the laws, and the clergy falling under some discountenance with the Government, began to grow insolent, and to treat them, in many places, with much roughness; and the clergy, seeing the protection of the Government withdrawn, and some designs formed against them to turn them out, began to be very uneasy, and hearing of better encouragement in Ireland, they, for a sum of money which the inhabitants were very ready to give, in hopes of having their old ministers restored, were prevailed on to desert their cures, and so a great number of vacancies in a very short time were made all over these counties; and in this condition we leave affairs in Scotland, and return to the intrigues of the Court.

The Lord Clarendon's enemies thought that they could never be in safety so long as the Duke of York, who was hearty in his interest, had so much credit with the King, and the Duchess so much influence over him; and therefore they fell into propositions of a strange nature, to defeat their expectances and alienate the King from them. The Duke of Buckingham pressed the King to declare a marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and undertook to get witnesses to attest it, as the Earl of Carlisle did to move it in the House; and the discourse that passed upon that occasion was carried to the Duke of Monmouth, and got fatally into his head. When the King would not consent to that, the project of a divorce was next set on foot; for they saw that the King had children by so many different creatures, that there was no fear of issue, had he but a wife capable of any, and were got quit of this. And to facilitate the matter, several pretences were offered, as that the King was never legally married, that the Queen was barren by a natural cause, that she had a certain secret defect in her person; and, if none of these took, that there was no reason, in law or nature, why polygamy might not be lawful.

An accident happened at that time that seemed to give some sanction to this design. The Lord Roos, afterwards Earl of Rutland, brought proofs of adultery against his wife, and obtained a sentence of divorce in the Spiritual Court, which, amounting only to a separation from bed and board, he moved for a bill entirely to dissolve the bond, and enable him to marry another wife. The King and the Duke appeared in this instance so zealous on different sides, the one for and the other against the divorce, that it occasioned much observation; and when the bill passed, the King was advised to lay hold on the precedent, and to order a bill to be brought in for his own divorce; but when matters were prepared, and the very day agreed on to make the motion in the House of Commons, the King relented, and the thing was let fall.

Another scheme of the Duke of Buckingham's was to steal the Queen away, if the King would give him leave, and send her to a plantation, where she should be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of more; but the King rejected the contrivance with horror. He came, however, into this proposition at last, which was to deal with the Queen's confessor, that he might persuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious, and so the Parliament might easily be prevailed on to pass a divorce. What obstructed the effect of this design is not so well known; but it is generally believed that upon this occasion the Duchess of York sent an express to Rome, with the notice of her conversion, and that orders were sent from thence to all about the Queen to persuade her against such a proposition, if any should suggest it to her. The Queen, in short, had no mind to be a nun. The Duchess of York hated the thoughts of another queen, and the mistress, then made Duchess of Cleveland, foresaw she must fall a sacrifice to her; and therefore they all, in their different ways, conspired to prevent the intended divorce, which, when the Duke of Buckingham perceived, he broke with the mistress, and endeavoured to draw the King from her by a train of new amours; and because he knew him to be delighted with a gaiety of temper, he engaged him to entertain two women of the stage, Davies and Gwynne, one after another. The former did not keep her hold long; but Gwynne, the most indiscreet and the wildest creature that ever was in a Court, continued in great favour to the end of his life, for she acted all persons in such a lively manner, and was such a constant diversion to the King, that even a new mistress could not drive her away. Roberts, a clergyman's daughter, was another mistress, who was managed by the Earl of Shaftesbury; but the principles of a good education were so well rooted in her that, though they could not restrain her from many scandalous disorders, yet they made her uneasy in them, and brought her at last to a due sense and repentance of them. These amours made the Duchess of Cleveland, when she saw herself superseded, fall into an equal inconstancy, and in one of her affairs, by Buckingham's artifice, she was discovered to the King in person, and the party concerned obliged to leap out of the window.

All this occasioned infamous rumours, and libels full of wit and satire came teeming from the press almost every day; but the King was insensible, and equally fortified against conviction and shame.

The most eminent wits of that time, on whom all the lively libels were fastened, were Lord Dorset, Lord Rochester, and Sir Charles Sedley. Lord Dorset was a generous, good-natured man, and a very merry companion when once a little wine had got the better of his phlegm. Never was there so much ill-nature in any pen as in his, joined with so much good-nature as was in himself. He was bountiful, even to run himself into difficulties; and so charitable, that he commonly gave away all he had about him when he met with a moving object of compassion; but he was lazy and indolent, and though courted to be a favourite, would not give himself the trouble of being one, and the rather because he hated the Court and despised the King when he saw he was neither generous nor tender-hearted. Lord Rochester had a brightness in his wit to which none could ever arrive, and was not destitute of natural modesty till the Court corrupted him; but he had not been long there before he gave himself up to all sorts of extravagance, to gross impiety and profaneness, and committed the wildest frolics that a wanton fancy could devise; for he would have gone about the streets as a beggar, made love as a porter, set up a stage as a mountebank, and for some years he was perpetually drunk, and ever doing mischief. He loved not the King, nor went often to Court; but to gain him intelligence there, he employed a footman, who knew almost everybody, to stand, all winter long, every night as a sentinel at such ladies' doors as he believed might be in any intrigues. By this means he made many discoveries, and, when he was thus furnished with materials, he retired in the country and wrote libels. Sedley had a more sudden and copious wit, which furnished a perpetual run of discourse; but he was not so correct as Lord Dorset, nor so sparkling as Lord Rochester. The writings of these witty men, however, made no more impression, except a little laughter upon occasion, than did the more serious labours of another kind; for the Court was become profligate, and the nation not a little offended at the Parliament for giving away money so lavishly to feed and sustain their vices.

The resentment of this raised a party among the Commons that opposed the measures of the Court, and appeared at all times against such profuse liberality; and they, with some struggle, carried one great point—viz., that a committee, all of their own members, should be named to examine the account of the money that was given during the Dutch war, which, by reason of the place where they sat, was called Brook House Committee. Lord Brereton was the chief of them, and had the chair—a philosophical man, who for all his life long had been in search of the philosopher's stone, by which he neglected his own affairs, but a man of great integrity, and who was not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatenings of the Court.

And another of the most distinguished note was Sir George Savile, raised at last to be Marquis of Halifax: he was a man of great and ready wit, full of life, and very pleasant, but much turned to satire. His imagination was too hard for his judgment, and a severe jest took more with him than all arguments whatever. He let his wit run much on matters of religion, which got him the reputation of a confirmed atheist; but he denied the charge, though he could not, as he said, digest iron as an ostrich, or take into his belief things that would burst him. Friendship and morality were great topics with him, and punctuality and justice more remarkable in his private dealings, because, in relation to the public, he went backwards and forwards, and changed sides so often, that, in the conclusion, no side would trust him. When this committee came to make their inquiry, the carelessness and luxury of the Court were so much exposed, that the King's spirit was highly exasperated at it, and the flatterers about him began to magnify the happy advantages of a more absolute and uncontrollable dominion; but the common method that was then so much in use was at length thought advisable, viz., to take off (as the word then was for corrupting) the principal members and promoters of the inquiry; and so the report was let fall, and the matter no more insisted on.

Money bills, all this while, went successfully on, though the country party (as they now began to be called again) were always watching an opportunity to clog the wheel. It is a common practice in the House, when those who oppose such bills fail in the main vote, to endeavour next to lay the money on such funds as will be unacceptable or prove deficient; and they proposed at this time to lay a tax on the playhouses, which, by Mr. Dryden's means, a great master of dramatic poesy, but a monster of immodesty and impurity of all sorts, were defiled beyond all example, and become nests of prostitution. The other party, in opposing this, chanced to say that players were the King's servants, and part of his pleasure; whereupon Sir John Coventry asked whether the King's pleasure lay among the men or the women that acted, which was carried to Court with great indignation, and sunk so deep into the King's resentment, that, contrary to the Duke of York's persuasions, he ordered some of the guards to watch in the streets where Sir John lodged, and leave a mark upon him. Sands and O'Brian and some others undertook the office, and as Sir John was going home they drew upon him; but he stood up to the wall, and, snatching the flambeau from his servant, with that in one hand, and his sword in the other, he defended himself gallantly, and wounded some of them; but he was soon disarmed, and had his nose cut to the bone, for that was the mark that the ruffians were ordered to give him. This put the House of Commons in a furious uproar, and they immediately passed a bill of banishment against the actors of it, and put in a clause in it that it should not be in the King's power to pardon them.

An act passed a session or two before for rebuilding the city of London, which gave Lord Chief Justice Hale a great reputation; for it was drawn with so true a judgment and so great a foresight that the whole city was raised out of its ashes without one lawsuit, and in four years' time was rebuilt with so much beauty and magnificence as made all Europe wonder where wealth could be found, after so vast a loss, to answer so prodigious an expense.

While the city lay in ashes, conventicles abounded in every part of it, for it was thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God in any way they could when there were no churches or ministers to look after them. But now that the city was pretty well rebuilt, and tabernacles everywhere raised till a public allowance could be settled for building of churches, an act was proposed reviving the former act against conventicles, wherein was a clause added laying a heavy fine on such justices of the peace as should not execute the law when informations were brought them. Upon this, many justices, who would not be instruments in such severities, left the bench, and many of the sects either discontinued their meetings, or held them very privately and in small numbers. Only the Quakers went on in their old way. They met at the same place and at the same hour as before. When they were seized, they went none of them out of the way; when they were sent to prison, they stayed till they were dismissed, for they would pay no fines, not so much as the gaol fees. When dismissed, they went back to their meeting-houses again; and when these were found shut against them, they held their assemblies in the streets, and before the doors of these houses. Some called this obstinacy, and some resolution, in them; but the people gained their point by it, for the Government grew weary with having to do with so much perverseness, and so let them alone. But to look back to the condition that we left the affairs of Scotland in.

Many churches were already vacant by the desertion of the ministers, made uneasy by the people, who fell entirely from the Episcopal clergy in the western counties, and by a set of hot, fiery young preachers who went about among them, inflaming them more and more; so that something was necessary to be done by way of remedy. Leighton had been sent up to the King, upon the late change, to lay before him the madness of the former administration of Church affairs, and the necessity of turning to more moderate counsels; so when he came down, he proposed in Council that some expedients should be thought on in order to accommodate differences, and to change the laws that had carried Episcopal authority to a much greater height than was necessary. In particular, he proposed that the Church should be governed by bishops and their clergy mixing together in the Church judicatories, in which the bishop should act only as a president, and be determined by the majority of his presbyters, both in matters of jurisdiction and ordination, without claiming superiority or any negative voice; that bishops should go to the respective churches where those who were to be ordained were to officiate, and there ordain them, with the concurrence of the presbytery; and that such as were ordained should have leave to declare their opinion if they thought the bishop no more than the head of the presbyters. He also proposed that there should be Provincial Synods to sit in course every third year, or oftener if the King pleased, in which complaints against the bishops should be heard, and they censured accordingly; and that the laws which settled Episcopacy and the authority of a National Synod should be altered according to this scheme; and, last of all, proposed that a treaty should be set on foot for bringing the Presbyterians to accept of these concessions.

The next thing under consideration was how to dispose of the many vacancies, and to put a stop to conventicles. The King had written a letter to the Privy Council, ordering them to indulge such of the Presbyterians as were peaceable and loyal so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant churches, though they did not submit to the present Establishment; and he required them to prescribe them such rules as might preserve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them. On the first Council-day after this letter was read, twelve of the ministers were indulged; and, not long after, about thirty more, who had all churches assigned them, and together with the warrants for their admission to them, had a paper of rules likewise put in their hands for their behaviour. At first the people of the country ran to them with a transport of joy. They were in hopes that they would have begun their ministry with a public testimony against all that was done in opposition to what they called the work of God; but when they found that they were silent as to that particular, and preached only the doctrines of Christianity, they soon changed their sentiments, and with some severe invectives against them, as betrayers of their brethren and deserters of their principles for filthy lucre's sake, returned again to conventicles, though they endeavoured to retain them by mean compliances and servile methods of popularity.

The suppression of conventicles was another point under the Council's consideration; and Burnet and his clergy coming up to Edinburgh with high complaints that churches were universally forsaken and conventicles abounded in every corner of the country, a proclamation was issued out, in imitation of the English act, setting a fine of £50 upon every landlord on whose ground any conventicle was held; and not long after a Synod of the clergy, held at Glasgow, drew up an address representing the miseries they were under occasioned by the Indulgence, which was as contrary to law as repugnant to the act for restoring Episcopacy, and fatal to the Church. The address was designed to be kept secret until advice could be had upon it; but a copy was procured by indirect means and sent to the King, whereupon he ordered that Burnet should not be suffered to come to Parliament, but be proceeded against according to the severity of the law.

The Parliament was opened in November, when Lord Lauderdale's speech ran upon two heads: the one was the recommending to their care the preservation of the Church as established by law, upon which he took occasion to express great zeal for Episcopacy; and the other related to the union of the two kingdoms, a project that was then much talked of, but never much intended.

The acts of most importance that passed in this Parliament were the first two. The one explained and asserted the King's supremacy, declaring that the settling all things relating to the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown, and that all things relating to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons were to be ordered according to such directions as the King should send to his Privy Council; and that these should be published by them, and have the force of laws. The other act related to the militia raised in the recess of the Parliament, and amounting to above two thousand horse and sixteen thousand foot, wherein it was declared that they should still be kept up in a readiness to serve the King upon all occasions, and that orders should be transmitted to them from the Council board. Burnet first felt the severity of the Supremacy Act. By it the King was absolute master and disposer of all ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, and therefore a pension was offered him if he would submit and resign, otherwise he was threatened to be used with more rigour if he pretended to stand out. He chose to comply, and retiring to a private state of life, bore his disgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the shade, and was generally much pitied; for he was good-natured and sincere, though too much influenced by others, and his application to what he did not understand (for he could never have made a statesman) made him entirely negligent of what was his proper business, the spiritual part of his function, and wherein he was intelligent to a great degree.

Upon Burnet's deposition, Leighton, with many entreaties and much reluctancy, undertook the administration of the see of Glasgow; and when he held the first Synod of the clergy, in which nothing was heard but complaints of desertion and ill-usage, he preached a sermon wherein he exhorted them to look up more to God; to consider themselves as the ministers of the Cross of Christ; to bear the contempt and ill-usage that they met with as an exercise of their faith and patience; to lay aside all the appetites of revenge; to humble themselves before God; to have many days for secret fasting and prayer; to meet often together to quicken and assist one another in those holy exercises; and then they might expect blessings from Heaven upon their labours. But this was a comfortless doctrine to them, and what they were not accustomed to. There was in all this no forcing people to come to church, no raising fines, no sending soldiers among them; all was peace and patience; and so they went home as little edified with their new bishop as he was with them.

His next essay was upon the chief of the indulged ministers, to try if he could prevail with them to hearken to any propositions of peace; but they received what he had to say with so much indifference, or rather neglect, as would have cooled any zeal less warm and less active than his. With much ado he persuaded them to meet him in an amicable conference, where he exhorted them to unity, and laid before them such concessions as the Government had given him authority to make; but after some deliberation they rejected them upon no reason, but a groundless presumption that the King was weary of supporting Episcopacy in Scotland, and so willing to clog his Government with it no longer; and the concessions that were therefore made proceeded not from any tenderness to them, but from an artifice to preserve Episcopacy, which would otherwise fall with its own weight. This was their reserved meaning; and the love of popularity, which they must have lost had they come into the bosom of the Church, was another reason that made them reject all overtures of a reconciliation. In the conclusion he was forced to tell them, "that as the design of their meeting was to procure peace and promote religion, he had offered some things which he was sensible were great diminutions of the just rights of Episcopacy; that these offers did not flow from any mistrust of the cause: he was persuaded Episcopacy was handed down through all the ages of the Church from the Apostles' days. Perhaps he had wronged the order by the concessions he had made; but he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuse it. Yet since they thought fit to reject these concessions without offering any reason for it, or any expedient on their side, the blame of all future divisions and the fatal consequences of them must lie at their doors, both before God and man."

Thus was the treaty broken off, and conventicles went everywhere on. There had been a great one held at Fife, near Dunfermline, where none had ever been held before. Some gentlemen of estates were among them, and the novelty of the thing drew a great crowd together, and some came in their ordinary arms. This was called the rendezvous of rebellion, and a bad representation made of it at Court; so that severe acts passed upon it, wherein all field conventicles were declared treasonable; and house conventicles crowded without doors, or at the windows, were esteemed the same. In the preacher they were made capital, in the landlord whose ground they were held upon highly finable, and in those that were at them punishable arbitrarily, unless they discovered all that were present whom they knew. This was a severe law, but designed more for terror than to be put in execution; and with these transactions this session of Parliament ended.

The Court was now going into other measures. The Parliament had granted the King all the money he had asked (and some repined they had granted so much) for repairing his fleet and furnishing his stores and magazines, under pretence of supporting the Triple Alliance; and when the Court saw how little reason they had to expect further supplies the Duke of Buckingham told the King that now was the time for him both to revenge the attempt on Chatham and to shake off the uneasy restraint of a House of Commons, if he would enter into an alliance with France to conquer Holland and to make himself absolute in his own kingdoms. When the overture was made to France, the French king ordered the King's sister, the Duchess of Orleans, to propose an interview with her brother upon that affair. She was a woman of fine wit, great gallantry, but of keen resentment where she thought herself slighted. The King of France had once made love to her; but she was highly incensed at it when she saw it was only a pretence to cover his addresses to Mademoiselle La Vallière, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards declared to be his mistress. He had made some overtures of the same nature to Madame Soissons likewise; but when they found themselves both deluded they entered into a friendship and a resolution of revenge. They had each of them a gallant; the Duchess of Orleans had the Comte de Guiche, and Madame Soissons the Marquis de Verdes. So they fell all into a combination, and to pleasure the ladies formed a letter as from the King of Spain to his daughter, then Queen of France, reproaching her for her tameness in suffering such an affront as the King put on her by his amours, with reflections full of contempt and anger upon the King himself. The letter, in short, was brought to the King, and the forgery detected; but before the matter came to such issue the Duchess happened to fall in love with her friend's gallant, and had so little command of herself as to tell her she was her rival. Madame Soissons, by an odd piece of extravagance, sent for the Marquis de Verdes, and told him that since she found he was in the Duchess's favour she would release him of all obligations, and deliver him over to her. But he, thinking this only an artifice of gallantry to try how faithful he was to his amours, declared himself incapable of changing, in terms full of respect to the Duchess, but passion to the other, which the Duchess took in such high disdain that she went to the King and acquainted him how far the Marquis was concerned in the forgery of the letter, whereupon he not only lost the favour he had at Court, but was kept a long while prisoner in Aigues Mortes. But this is but a small story of her by-the-bye. The Duchess, according to order, met her brother at Dover, and proposed an alliance with France in order to the conquest of Holland. The King was for beginning at home, and conquering his own people first, but that thought was laid aside as not so consistent with policy; and so the resolution was taken to begin with Holland, and attack it vigorously both by sea and land, and upon success therein all the rest, they concluded, would be an easy work. The King was so charmed with his sister that everything she proposed and everything she asked was granted her. But the journey proved fatal to her; for the Duke of Orleans had heard such things of her behaviour that it was said he ordered a great dose of sublimate to be given to her in a glass of succory-water, whereof she died a few hours after in great torment. As she was in her agony she said, "Adieu, Treville;" for she had had an intrigue with the Comte de Treville; and so struck was he with this accident that it had a good effect on him, for he retired from the world, and went and lived many years with the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a learned and devout man.

Upon the Duchess of Orleans's death, as the Marshal Bellefonds came from France with the compliment to the Court of England, so the Duke of Buckingham was sent thither on pretence to return the compliment, but in reality to finish the treaty, wherein it was finally agreed that England should have £350,000 a year during the war, together with a fleet from France; that England should attack the Dutch by sea, while France invaded them by land with a mighty army; that in the division of their country England should have Zealand, and France all the rest, except Holland, which was to be given to the Prince of Orange, if he would come into the alliance; and that it should still continue a trading nation, but without any capital ships.

When the war was thus resolved on, some pretences were to be found out in order to execute it; and there happened an accident not long before that the Court laid great hold on. The Dutch fleet lay off the coast of England the former year, when one of the King's yachts sailing by expected that they should strike to her. The Dutch refused not to strike to any man-of-war; but they did not think that such honour belonged to so inconsiderable a vessel. However, they offered to make all satisfaction for the future in that matter, though they were loath to send their admiral over as a criminal, as was demanded; and upon such refusal all accommodation was at an end. This accident, and some pretensions on Surinam not fully satisfied, some traitors harboured in Holland, and some pictures and medals made there, in derision of the King, were the pretended reasons for this war; and to assert the King's empire in the four seas, which Selden in his "Mare Clausum" had made so popular, was accounted an enterprise full of renown. All this while the French deluded the Dutch ambassador at Paris with a false persuasion that they had no ill intent against the States. However, to ward against the worst, the States entered into a negotiation both with Spain and the Emperor, with the King of Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Luneburg. The King of Sweden was as yet under age, and the ministry there desired a neutrality.

The Court, being thus resolved on a war, did not sufficiently consider the situation of affairs, or where to get money to carry it on. The King had been running in debt ever since his restoration, and to keep his credit, had dealt with some bankers, and assigned over the revenue to them. The King paid them at the rate of eight per cent.; but others who put their money in their hands received from them but six per cent., so that their advantage was considerable, and their credit very great; for payments were made punctually, and the King had in some proclamations given his faith that he would continue to make good all his assignments till the whole debt was paid, which was growing up to almost a million and a half. But to supply the King with money upon this occasion, it was thought advisable to put a stop to these payments for a year only, because in a year's time it was supposed the King would be out of all necessities, by the great acquisitions he would make by the war. And accordingly a stop was put, whereby the bankers were broken, and great multitudes who had trusted their money in their hands were ruined by this dishonourable and perfidious action.

But this did no more than give the King his revenue again: other ways were to be found for the increase of treasure to answer the demands of a war. By the peace of Breda it was provided, in order to the security of trade, that no merchant ships should, for the future, be fallen on till six months after a declaration of war. The Dutch had then a rich fleet coming from Smyrna and other parts of the Mediterranean, supposed to be worth a million and a half, under the convoy of a few men-of-war. Our Court had advice of this, and ordered Holmes to wait for them with eight men-of-war, near the Isle of Wight, and take them. Holmes accordingly fell upon them; but their convoy behaved so well, that not only the whole fleet sailed off, while they kept them in play, but they themselves escaped at last, being happily favoured by a mist. This was such a breach of faith as Mahometans would have been ashamed of, and the unsuccessfulness of it made it seem as ridiculous as it was base.

To crown all, a Declaration was ordered to be set out, suspending the execution of all penal laws both against Papists and Nonconformists. Papists were no more to be prosecuted for their way of worship in their own houses, and the Nonconformists were allowed to have open meeting-houses, for which they were to take out licenses, and were not to be disturbed in their exercise of Divine worship by virtue of these licenses. This Declaration was judged so contrary to law, that Lord Keeper Bridgman refused to put the seal to it; whereupon he was dismissed, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was made Lord Chancellor. Great endeavours were used at Court to persuade the Nonconformists to make addresses and compliments upon it; the Presbyterian ministers came in a body, and Dr. Manton, in their name, thanked the King for this indulgence to them; but that offended many of their best friends. There was, besides, a yearly pension of fifty pounds ordered to be given to most of them, and to some of the most eminent a hundred, which few refused in comparison with the number of those who suffered themselves thus to be bribed to silence, and were compliant to the bad purposes of the Court. But the Church of England was not so submissive, nor were her pulpits silent: Popery was everywhere preached against; the authority of the laws much magnified; and the bishops, particularly the Bishop of London, charged the clergy to inform the people of the controversy between us and the Church of Rome, and of the wicked and idolatrous tendency of many of her doctrines. For though the Duke of York was known to be a Papist, yet it was still thought unreasonable that, while the King professed himself a Protestant, the clergy should not be bold to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, and which he continued to profess; and so the preaching against Popery went on.

While things were in this fermentation, the Duchess of York died. She for some time had been suspected of wavering in her religion, from her neglecting to come to the sacrament, and taking all the opportunities of excusing the errors of the Church of Rome. Before she died she left behind her a paper, written with her own hand, setting forth the reasons of her conversion to that faith; and yet, to her very dying day, she never owned to Morley, who had been her confessor, and taken care to direct her religion, any the least scruple that way, though he had several times conjured her to it, which made him conclude that that princess had been prevailed on to give falsehoods under her hand, and to pretend that these were the grounds of her conversion. Her sickness, however, made no discovery of what her real sentiments were; for a long decay of health came at last to a quicker crisis than had been apprehended; and, all of a sudden, she fell into the agony of death. Blandford, who was sent for to prepare her for it, was a man too modest on such an occasion. He spoke but little, and fearfully; and when he happened to say he hoped she continued still in the truth, she instantly asked, "What is truth?" And then her agony increasing, she repeated the word, "Truth, truth," oftentimes, and in a few moments expired, very little beloved, and not much lamented: for her haughtiness had raised her many enemies, and though she was a firm and kind friend, yet the supposed change of her religion made most of her friends reckon her death rather a blessing than any loss at that time; and her father, when he heard of her wavering in religion, was more struck with it than all his other misfortunes, and wrote her a very serious letter upon it, but she was dead before it arrived in England.

The alliance with France was now fully concluded, and matters were everywhere ready for an open rupture; but before we come to consider the progress of the war, it will not be amiss to give some account of the affairs of the States at that time.

When the Prince of Orange was of full age, it was proposed in many places of the United Provinces that he should have the supreme command. De Witt, who had been an enemy to the family for the attempt his father had made upon the public liberty, saw the tide was too strong to be resisted, and therefore came into the proposal of making him general; but with this limitation, that he should bind himself by an oath never to pretend to be Stadtholder, nor to accept it, though it should be offered him. This condition was but of hard digestion, but it was thought necessary to be complied with at that time, and to leave the dissolution of it to futurity.

To facilitate their way to the conquest of Holland, the French prevailed with the Elector of Cologne to put his country into their possession, and deliver himself, with all his dominions, into their hands, which when he had done, all upon the Rhine were struck with such a consternation that there was no spirit or courage left in them. The King of France came down to Utrecht like a land-flood, and struck the Dutch with such just terror that nothing but great errors in his management could have kept them from delivering themselves entirely up to him. When he was at Utrecht, they sent ambassadors to know what it was that he demanded. His demand was that they should deliver up Maestricht, Bois le Duc, Breda, and all the other places without the Seven Provinces that were in their possession; that they should pay a vast sum of money for the charge of that campaign; should give up the chief church in every town for the exercise of the Popish religion; should put themselves under the protection of France; should send an ambassador every year with a medal acknowledging it; and should enter into no treaties or alliances but by the direction of France: on these conditions—that he would withdraw his army, and leave the Seven Provinces entire to them. The Dutch ambassadors were amazed when they found the demands rise to such an extravagant pitch, and one of them swooned away when he heard them read; for he could neither think of yielding to them, nor see any possibility to resist them. The French possessed themselves of Naerden, and a party having entered into Muyden, had the keys of the gates brought to them; but understanding not the importance of the place, and how, by the command of water, it was able to drown all Amsterdam, they threw the keys into the ditch; and when, upon better intelligence, they returned to take possession of it, they found themselves prevented by two battalions that the Prince of Orange had sent to secure the place and preserve Amsterdam.

All this time the States at the Hague were very near the extremities of despair: they had not only lost their towns, but the garrisons too. Guelder, Overyssel, and Utrecht were in the enemy's hands; the Bishop of Münster was making a formidable impression on Gröningen; and, to complete their ruin, a rumour was spread abroad that they were betrayed by those in the Government, and that De Witt intended all should perish rather than the family of Orange should be set up. With this melancholy prospect of things, whenever they assembled they looked on one another like men amazed, and sometimes all in tears, till the Spanish ambassador advised them to put on another countenance; to publish that they had good news; that their allies were on the march; that their fleet had been successful at sea; or any such probable stories that might keep the poor people in heart.

The success of their fleet at sea was not long after the promulgation of such-like stories, wherein De Ruyter had the glory of surprising the English in Solebay before they were prepared for an engagement; and where the French took more care of themselves than became gallant men, unless they had orders to look on, and leave the English and Dutch to fight it out, while they preserved the force of France entire. It was here that De Ruyter disabled the ship in which the Duke was, whose conduct was most blamed, and his courage called in question, for quitting it so soon; it was here that the admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, in which the Earl of Sandwich, refusing to leave the ship, too courageously perished, with many brave men more who chose to die with him; and here the Duke of Buckingham was reconciled to the Church of Rome when he saw the Dutch fleet appear in view, to make sure of another world, as he called it; not from any sense of religion, but to recommend himself to the Duke's confidence.

In the circumstances of such distress the Dutch had no other way than to try if it was possible to separate England from France, and because they conceived that it would be a grateful offer to make the King's nephew their Stadtholder, ambassadors were therefore sent away with that proposal, but were strangely amazed when they found no regard was had to that whereby alone they thought to have gained the Court. All the answer they obtained was that the King could do nothing separately, but would send over his ambassadors to treat at Utrecht, and accordingly the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington were ordered over; and to give the nation (which at the rejection of the Dutch ambassadors was disgusted) more satisfaction, Lord Halifax was sent afterwards, but was not in the secret.

The Dutch, hearing that their ambassadors were coming over without making peace with England, ran together in great numbers to Maeslandsluys, and resolved to cut them to pieces at their landing; but as they were crossing the Maese, a little boat met them, and told them their danger and advised them to land in another place, whereby they escaped the storm then, but it broke out fatally at the Hague the next day.

As De Witt was one night going home from the States, four persons set on him to murder him. He showed on that occasion both an intrepid courage and a great presence of mind; for though he was wounded in several places, yet he got out of their hands, and one of them was taken and condemned for it. The young man confessed his crime, and repented of it, and protested he was led to it by no other consideration but that of zeal for his country and religion, which he thought were betrayed, and he died as in a rapture of devotion, which made a great impression on the spectators. At the same time a barber accused De Witt's elder brother of tampering with him to murder the Prince; and though there was no probability in the story, yet Cornelius De Witt was put to the torture upon it, which he bore with great firmness and constancy to his own innocence. He was, however, sentenced to be banished, and as his brother was carrying him out of town in his coach, some furious agitators who pretended zeal for the Prince gathered the rabble together, and by the vile action that followed,[1] gave his enemies an opportunity of casting the infamy of it upon him, though he was always known to speak of it with the utmost horror and detestation.

Upon the death of so ruling a man as De Witt had been, there soon followed a great change of the magistracy in all the provinces, and a repeal of the Perpetual Edict to make way for the Prince of Orange's advancement to the Stadtholdership, which (as soon as the people had released him from the oath he had lately taken) he was willing to accept. But when the States of Amsterdam were for going higher, and presented him with the sovereignty of their town, he rejected the offer; for he was fully satisfied, as he told them, with the power already lodged with him, and would never endeavour to carry it further.

The Prince's advancement gave a new life to the whole country. He was then but very young, and little acquainted with the affairs of State or war; yet he applied himself so to both, that notwithstanding the sad condition in which he found matters, he neither lost heart nor committed errors. The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington tried all they could with the King of France to gain better terms for the Dutch; but he was now become so elated with his late successes, that he slightly regarded any intercession from England; and the Prince, on the other hand, was so steady in his resolutions, that the ambassadors soon saw that their offices could be of no avail. At parting, however, the Duke pressed the Prince to put himself entirely in the King of England's hands, and assured him that he would take care of his affairs as much as of his own. The Prince answered that as his country had trusted him, he would neither deceive nor betray them for any private views whatever. "Your country is lost," replied the Duke; "do not you see your country is lost?" "My country is in great danger," answered the Prince; "but there is a sure way never to see it lost; and that is, to die in the last ditch"—a saying that bespoke a gallant soul, full of affection for his country, hope of success, and a magnanimous resolution, come what would.

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[1] They barbarously murdered him, dragging his body through the streets, hanging it on the gallows by the heels, and afterwards inhumanly tearing it and cutting it to pieces.

When the Prince undertook the administration of affairs his age and own experience were not so great but that he knew very well there would be a necessity to have wise counsellors about him; but the misfortune was that the wisest and most considerable men in their towns that had been acquainted with the conduct of affairs formerly were either under a cloud or retired from business; and many hot poor men who had signalised their zeal in the late turn, came to be called the Prince's friends, and were everywhere put in the magistracy; but these quickly lost all credit, having little discretion, no authority, too much partiality in government, and oppression to those on the other side. The Prince saw this sooner than he could remedy it; but by degrees the men of better abilities came in to assist him in the generous design of expelling the French and saving their country.

The person whom the Prince chiefly relied on as to the affairs of Holland was Fagel, a man very learned in the law, and who had a quick apprehension, a clear and ready judgment, with a copious eloquence, but more popular than correct, and therefore the fitter to carry matters with a torrent in a numerous assembly. He had joined with De Witt in carrying the Perpetual Edict, and was made Greffier, or Secretary to the States-General, which is the most beneficial place in Holland. His piety and virtue were very considerable, but he had something too eager and violent in his temper; had heart enough when matters went well, but wanted the courage that became a great minister on uneasy and difficult occasions.

Prince Waldeck had been their chief general, a man of great compass of knowledge and true judgment, equally able in the cabinet and the camp; but he was always unsuccessful, because he was never furnished according to the schemes he had laid down; and the opinion that armies had of him as an unfortunate general made him really so, for soldiers have seldom a good heart to fight where they have not an entire confidence in their chief commander.

Dickvelt was thought so attached to the De Witts that at first he was left out of the Government; but his great abilities, and the insinuating smoothness of his temper, procured him so many friends that the Prince was prevailed on to receive him into his confidence, which he retained to the last, as he justly deserved it. He had a perfect knowledge of all the affairs of Europe, and great practice in many embassies; his manner of speaking was long, and with too much vehemence; his private deportment was regular and religious; but in the administration of his province (which was Utrecht, and chiefly trusted to him) there were complaints of partiality and of a defective justice.

Van Beuningen was a man of powerful interest in the town of Amsterdam, and governed it for a long while like a dictator. He had a wonderful vivacity, but too much levity in his thoughts, and an inconstancy in his temper that proceeded from a giddiness of mind more than any falsehood in his nature. He had a great knowledge of all sciences, and such a copiousness of invention, with such a pleasantness as well as variety of conversation, that he was not unlike the Duke of Buckingham in this respect, only he was virtuous and devout, but not without some tincture of enthusiasm.

Halewyn was a man of no less interest in his town of Dort, one of the judges of the Court of Holland, and next to Fagel in the Prince's favour. He had a great compass of learning, besides his own profession, wherein he was eminent; had studied divinity with great exactness; and was well read in all history, but most particularly in the Greek and Latin authors. He had a great vivacity, a quick apprehension, a correct judgment, and though he spoke not long, yet there was always life in what he said. He had a courage and vigour in his counsels that became one who had formed himself upon the best models of the ancient authors; and as he had great credit in the court where he sat, so he took care that the partialities of friendship should not mix in the administration of justice; for he had all the best notions in him of a great patriot and a true Christian philosopher.

These were the men of the most distinguished merit, best exercised in affairs, and most conversant in the Prince's counsels when he set about the work of rescuing his country from the heavy yoke of oppression and servitude; and as soon as he saw both that the French demands ran so high that there was no complying with them, and that the English could not be drawn into a separate alliance, so that there was no dependence on them, he got the States to call an Extraordinary Assembly, where, in a very long and judicious speech, he first laid open the ill effects and consequences of accepting the French propositions; that a compliance with them would ruin their country, and a bare treating about them but distract and dispirit the people. Next he showed the possibility of making head against the enemy, notwithstanding their present ill circumstances, by enumerating the strength of their allies that were flocking to their assistance, and by observing that it would not be long before the Parliament of England would engage their king to enter into other measures, and the Germans, who were coming down the Lower Rhine, oblige the French to leave the country as fast as they came into it. Then he proceeded to the possibility of raising such taxes as might answer the vast and unavoidable expense that the exigence of their affairs required, and named a great variety of projects for that purpose; and so, for a conclusion, advised every one, and the ministers more especially, to exhort one another to a cheerful submission to the present extremity and whatever should be laid upon them, in order to deliver them out of it, as the only means to support the minds of their own people and intimidate the enemy.

Every one who was present seemed amazed to hear so young a man speak to so many things with so much knowledge, and so true a judgment. It raised his character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new life into a country almost dead with fear and disconsolate with their losses. They all resolved to maintain their liberty to the last, and, if matters were run to that extreme, rather than be slaves, to flee into the East Indies; for which purpose the state of their shipping capable of so long a voyage was examined, and the computation was, that they were able to transport about two hundred thousand people thither.

But all these resolutions of courage would very probably have availed them little had the King of France been prevailed on either to stay in Utrecht longer, or to make a better disposition of his army when he left it. But he made haste to go back to Paris, some say upon a call to adjust some quarrel among his mistresses, others in haste to receive the flatteries prepared for him, and others in fear of the desperate temper of the Dutch, who were capable, he was told, of any design, how black soever, against his life, rather than perish. But whatever was the motive of his return, had he dismantled the towns as he took them, and not put garrisons in them, or had he left Turenne in command of the army instead of Luxemburg, things might have gone on with the same rapidity of success; but the main of his army was dispersed in garrisons, and so capable of no great enterprises; Turenne was sent against the Elector of Brandenburg, an ally of the States, and coming down to assist them; and Luxemburg, who was naturally rough and had no regard to articles, made all people see what was to be expected when they should come under a foreign yoke, and contributed not a little to confirm the Dutch in the desperate resolution they had taken.

If the King's design in hastening to Paris was to receive the incense and adulation of his people, he had enough to surfeit any reasonable man. Speeches, verses, inscriptions, triumphal arches, and medals were prepared with a profusion and excess of flattery beyond what had been offered to the worst of the Roman emperors, bating the ceremony of adoration. Solemn debates were held by what proud title he was to be called, nor were blasphemous impieties wanting to raise and feed his vanity.

In the meantime there seemed to be, in some instances, a kind of miraculous interposition of Providence for the deliverance of the Dutch; for when the English fleet appeared before Scheveling, not far from the Hague, where the Dutch were in no condition to oppose them, and intended to land the forces that were to make descent the next flood, the flood, contrary to its usual course, was so short, and the ebb so very long, that it carried the ships back again to sea, and before the return of the tide De Ruyter came up with his fleet to defend the coast.

Not long after they escaped another design that might have been equally fatal to them. The Earl of Ossory, eldest son of the Duke of Ormond, had undertaken to the King to seize Helvoetsluys, a place of great consequence, but very badly looked to by the Dutch, because they thought that the danger of entering its harbour was a sufficient security to it. He had got proper pilots and everything necessary for the expedition, when, the very night before the Earl was to go on board, the King communicating the design to the Duke of Buckingham, he, who was an utter enemy to the Duke of Ormond and Lord Ossory both, and would have seen the King and all his affairs perish rather than any person whom he hated should have the honour of a meritorious enterprise, turned all his wit and humour to make the thing appear ridiculous and impracticable; and, by his malicious insinuations, prevailed with the King to lay an attempt aside which, had it been attended with success, as probably it might, would have sorely distressed the Dutch.

But the most providential escape of all was from that invasion which Luxemburg designed against them, near the end of this year, which would have had a very tragical conclusion if a happy turn of weather had not saved them. Many feints were used by the French to amuse the Dutch so skilfully that there was no suspicion of their true intent till all was ready for an irruption into their country as soon as the frost should come. It came at last; and when it had continued so long that, upon examining the ice, it was thought impossible to be dissolved by any ordinary thaw in less than two days, they marched out about midnight from Utrecht towards Leyden. But the moment they began their march, a thaw-wind blew very fresh, and before next morning the frost was so far gone that they could not return the same way. They came to Summerdam and Bodegraven, where they committed many outrages of crying lust and barbarous cruelty, but in all probability had been cut off from their retreat, had not one Painevine, who commanded a fort through which they were to pass, shamefully deserted his post, and given them an opportunity to escape, for which he was thrice tried, and at first condemned to infamy as a coward, which was to have his sword broken over his head, and himself banished from the States' dominions; but that not satisfying the towns of Holland, he was at last sentenced to lose his life, the Prince finding it necessary, in the present situation of affairs, to settle a severe discipline, and to look to the rigorous execution of it, by which means he soon wrought up his army to such a pitch of obedience and courage, of sobriety and good order, that things began to put on another face.

While the world was in this general combustion, the King, it seems, was so indolent and unconcerned at everything except love, that he declared a new mistress this year, and created her Duchess of Portsmouth. She had been maid of honour to Madame the King's sister, and came over with her to Dover where the King had expressed such a regard to her that the Duke of Buckingham (who hated the Duchess of Cleveland heartily, and was minded to do France a lasting kindness) easily induced him to invite her over. The Duke had assured the King of France that he could never be sure of the King of England without giving him a mistress who would be true to his interests; and accordingly he took care to provide him one who, by studying to please and humour him in everything, so gained upon his affections, that he not only maintained her at vast charge and passed the rest of his life in great fondness for her, but, by her means, was so thoroughly engaged in the French interest that it threw him many times into great difficulties, and exposed him to contempt abroad and distrust at home.

While the King was thus engaged in his amours at home, the Duke stayed a long while sauntering at sea in hopes to have got the Dutch East India fleet; but they came sailing so near the German coast that they passed him before he was aware of it, so that he was forced to return home ingloriously, having lost the glory of the action that happened at Solebay, and missed the great wealth of the fleet that he was so long waiting for.

To conclude the transactions of this memorable year with the affairs of Scotland. About the end of May, Duke Lauderdale (for so he was lately created) came down with his lady (for now he had married the Lady Dysart) in great pomp and splendour, much lifted up with the French success, and treating all people with such scorn and contempt that few were able to bear it. He adjourned the Parliament for a fortnight, that he might carry his lady round the country, and was everywhere waited on and entertained with as much respect and at as great a charge as if the King had been there in person. They lived at a vast rate, but she set everything to sale to raise money, carrying herself with a haughtiness that would have been shocking in a queen, and talking of every one with such an ungoverned freedom as made her be universally hated. Upon the insolence of this behaviour many of the nobility made great application to the Duke of Hamilton to lead a party against Duke Lauderdale, and to oppose the tax that he demanded of a whole year's assessment. But the other declining the noise and popularity of the thing for the present, all the business of Parliament this session went on smoothly and without any opposition.

But the unsettled condition of the Church gave him some trouble and made him very inconsistent in his actings. When some furious zealots had broken into the ministers' houses, wounding and robbing and compelling them to swear that they would never again officiate in their churches, such of them as were apprehended were condemned and executed. When some letters brought over by one Carstairs, supposed to encourage an insurrection, were taken in a ship that came from Rotterdam, though it was almost impossible to decipher their meaning, yet a severe persecution was raised against conventicles upon the bare supposition, and a great deal of money was raised by arbitrary fines. But, on a sudden, all was calm and quiet again. The benefit of the Indulgence was extended to forty more churches. Conventicles were everywhere connived at, and the remissness of the Government in this respect was such as deserved the same censure and reproach as did their former severity.

Sharp and his instruments took an occasion from hence to complain that the Church was going to be undone by Leighton's means, and that such a license as this went so far beyond what a principle of moderation could suggest, that it implied a formal design to ruin and overturn the constitution. These clamours, and the unsuccessfulness of his labours on both sides (for as he gained no ground on the Presbyterians, so he was suspected and hated by the Episcopal party), made that good man resolve to retire from all public employments, and give himself wholly to prayer and meditation, since he found he could not accomplish his great design of uniting and reforming a divided and degenerated Church, if the King, as he requested, would have accepted of his resignation, which, a year after this, he was prevailed upon to do; so that Burnet, upon his submission, being restored to the archbishopric of Glasgow, Leighton retired to a private house in Sussex, where he lived ten years in a most heavenly manner, and with a shining conversation.

Thus we have come to the period that was set to this book, and carried the reader through the first twelve years of King Charles II.'s reign—calm and easy days (at home, at least) in respect of the years that are to follow.

BOOK III

OF THE REST OF KING CHARLES II.'S REIGN—FROM 1673 TO 1685

THE proceedings of the former year had opened all men's eyes. The King's own religion was suspected, his brother's declared, and the whole conduct showed a design to govern by a French model. Count Schomberg, a man of true judgment, of great probity, of a humble and obliging temper, and who at any other time would have been acceptable to the English, now that he was brought over from France, as it was said, to bring our army under a French discipline, was hated by the nation, and by reason of his religion (for he was a firm Protestant) not much beloved by the Court. The ministry—which was used to be called the C A B A L, because every letter in that word is the first of these five, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale—had clung together heretofore, and conspired to sell their country to France; but a spirit of division had now got among them, and disconcerted all their measures. The Duke of Buckingham was alone, hated by all, as he hated all the rest; but he went so entirely into all their ill designs, that the King, either out of love or fear, showed him great countenance. Lord Clifford stuck firm to the Duke of York, and was heated with the design of bringing in Popery even to enthusiasm. The Earl of Arlington thought that the design was now lost, and that it was necessary for the King to make up matters with his people in the best manner he could. Duke Lauderdale was taken off in conducting the affairs of Scotland, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was resolved to save himself at any rate.

But what was a more melancholy consideration still, the King was engaged in an expensive war; all his money was exhausted, nor was there any visible means of procuring more, but from his Parliament; and therefore, in the beginning of the year, one was called. The Earl of Shaftesbury, when he came to the Seals, endeavoured to recommend himself to the confidence of the Court by a new strain never before thought of. He said that the writs for choosing the members of the House of Commons in the room of the deceased might be issued out in the intervals of a session, and the elections made upon them returned into Chancery, and settled there. Accordingly writs were issued out; but whether any elections and returns were made upon them is not known. At the opening of the session the King excused the issuing out the writs in this manner, as only done to save time, and to have a full House at their first meeting; but this he left to their determination. He expressed his resolution to maintain his Declaration for liberty of conscience, as having seen the good effects of it; and as he was engaged in a war for the honour of the nation, he demanded such supplies as were necessary to carry it on. This was the substance of his speech, and on these heads Lord Shaftesbury enlarged very plausibly; but while he was thus abetting the Court and the war he was in a secret management with another party.

When the House of Commons came to consider the King's speech, the first point they went upon was the matter of his Declaration, and whether it was agreeable to law or not. Some, to divert this, were for inquiring into the issuing out of the writs, as willing to make Lord Shaftesbury the sacrifice, which when he perceived, he was resolved to change sides with the first opportunity. But upon the debate the House soon came to a very unanimous resolution that the Declaration was against law, and set it forth in an address to the King, in which they prayed that it might be called in. Nor did this content them, for they brought in a bill likewise, disabling all Papists from holding any employment or place at Court, and requiring all persons in public trust to receive the sacrament in a parish church, to carry an attested certificate of that into Chancery or the County Sessions, and there to make a declaration, renouncing transubstantiation in full and positive words. This, when it passed, was called the Test Act, and the penalty, upon failure, was £500 to the discoverer. The Court upon this occasion was in great perplexity: if they gave way to the proceedings of the House of Commons, there was a stop put to the design of Popery; if they gave not way to them, there was an end put to the war. The French could not furnish so much money as was necessary, and the shutting up the Exchequer had put an end to all credit. When the matter came before the Cabinet, Lord Clifford was for having the King stand his ground:—"The people now saw through his designs, and therefore he must either resolve to make himself master at once, or for ever be subject to jealousy and contempt." The Duke of Buckingham offered to the King that if he would bring up the army to town, he would take out of both Houses the members that made the opposition. The Duke of Lauderdale talked of bringing an army out of Scotland, and seizing on Newcastle, and pressed it as vehemently as if he had been able to execute it. But the Earls of Shaftesbury and Arlington were, on the other hand, for giving the Parliament full content, and undertook, upon this condition, to procure money to carry on the war, and at the same time persuaded the French ambassador to engage his master's application to the King in favour of their advice.

When the Declaration, by the King's consent and approbation, came to be debated in the House of Lords, Lord Clifford undertook to assert the Declaration with all the force and all the arguments he was able, though he did it with too much heat, and many indecent expressions. But when he had done, the Earl of Shaftesbury, to the amazement of the whole House, said, "He must differ from the lord who spoke last *toto cælo*. While those matters were debated out of doors, indeed, he might think, with others, that the Supremacy, asserted as it was by law, might warrant the Declaration; but now that such a House of Commons, so loyal and affectionate to the King, were of another mind, he submitted his reason to theirs. They were the King's great Council; they must advise and support him; they had done it, and would do it still, if their laws and their religion were once secured to them." The King was all in a rage to be thus forsaken by his Chancellor, but his Chancellor soon found out an expedient to pacify his fury; for he and Lord Arlington, the very same afternoon, got all the leading members of the House of Commons on whom they had an influence to go privately to the King, and tell him "that, upon Lord Clifford's speech, the House was in such fury that probably they would have gone to some high votes and impeachments, if Lord Shaftesbury's speaking on the other side had not restrained them; that Lord Shaftesbury was supposed to speak the King's sense, as Lord Clifford was the Duke's; and this calmed all, so that the Chancellor had done him great service; and now was the time, they said, both for the King to obtain his ends and his ministers an indemnity, if he would part with the Declaration, and pass the bill." This was managed with so much dexterity, that before night the King's sentiments were quite changed, and matters were so represented to him that he sent Lord Clifford word by the Duke that his indiscretion had raised such a flame that he could not with conveniency make use of his service any longer.

Lord Clifford, however, together with the Duke of Buckingham, had still that interest with the King as to recommend Sir Thomas Osborne, a Yorkshire gentleman, and of an impaired estate, to succeed in the Treasury. He had been always among the High Cavaliers; but, missing of preferment, he opposed the Court much, and was one of Lord Clarendon's bitterest enemies. He was a very plausible speaker, but too copious, and could not easily make an end; and in his common discourse he gave himself great liberty, not seeming to have any regard to truth or so much as the appearance of it. He was an implacable enemy, but had a peculiar way of making his friends depend on him, and believe him faithful to them. After all, he was a positive and undertaking man, and therefore gave the King great ease by assuring him that all things should go according to his mind in the next session of Parliament; and whenever he failed in his assurances, he had always some excuse at hand to fix the miscarriage upon, by which means he gained the highest degree in the King's confidence, and maintained it longer than any who ever served him.

Soon after this, letters came from the Court of France, pressing the King to do all that was necessary to procure money from the Parliament, since their king could not bear the charge of the war alone, which determined him to disannul his Declaration, and to pass the Test Act, together with an Act of Grace, which was chiefly designed to cover his too obnoxious ministers; whereupon the Parliament granted him £1,200,000, twice the sum that was intended by the generality of those who opposed the Court, but procured by the corruption of Galloway and Lee, two leading men in that opposition; so that the King was now enabled to carry on the war another year, to the great amazement of the Dutch, who relied on the Parliament, and did not doubt but that a peace with England would have been procured by their interposition.

After the session was over the Duke carried all his commissions to the King, and wept when he delivered them up; but the King expressed no concern. He put the Admiralty in commission; Osborne, soon after made Earl of Danby, was put in the Treasury; the Earl of Shaftesbury, though continued Chancellor, had lost his favour quite; and so had Lord Arlington the Duke's. Prince Rupert was sent to command the fleet, and had two or three engagements with the Dutch; but none of the French ships engaged except one, and when the captain thereof charged the Admiral for his ill conduct he was put in the Bastile for it. This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole nation; all men cried out and said, "We were engaged in a war by the French, that they might have the pleasure to see the Dutch and us destroy one another, while they knew our seas and ports, and learned our management of things, but took all care to preserve themselves." And the clamour of this was so great that when Count Schomberg expostulated the matter with the French ambassador, and could get no other satisfaction from him than a tacit intimation that the French admiral had acted according to his instructions, he made haste to get out of England, to prevent his being sent away by an address.

A mediation about this time was offered by the Swedes, in order to a peace. Cologne was proposed to be the place of treaty, and the Earl of Sunderland was made choice of by the King for one of his plenipotentiaries. He was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and quick decision of business; but he had too much heat, both of imagination and passion, was apt to speak freely both of persons and things, and raised himself many enemies by a contemptuous treatment of those who differed from him. His own notions were always good, but he was a man of great expense, and, in order to support that, he went into the prevailing counsels at Court, and changed sides often, with little or no regard either to religion or the interest of his country. He had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degrees of confidence with three princes successively, who set up all on different interests, that he came, by this, to lose himself so much that even those who esteemed his parts depended little on his probity.

The Treaty of Cologne was of short continuance; for the Emperor having ordered that Elector's plenipotentiary to be seized, as a subject of the empire who had betrayed it, the French looked upon this as such a violation of the passports, that they laid it down for a preliminary to have him set at liberty before they would enter upon the treaty. Upon this occasion the treaty was dissolved, and the French took Maestricht this summer, where their King was present, and where the Duke of Monmouth distinguished himself so eminently that he was much considered and commended for it.

The Duchess of York had been now so long dead that it was thought a decent time enough for the Duke to look out for another wife. He had made his addresses to the Lady Belasyse, widow to the Lord Belasyse's son, a woman of much wit and great vivacity, but of a very small proportion of beauty;

and she had gained on his affections so, that he gave her a promise, under his hand, to marry her. Her father-in-law, Lord Belasyse, was a strong Papist, and knew her to be a firm Protestant, and inflexible in her way. He gave the design, therefore, of bringing in their religion for gone, if that match was not prevented; and thereupon went to the King, and, under pretence of duty to him and zeal for the Duke's honour, gave him intimations of what he apprehended; and the King, by remonstrances to his brother, made him alter his mind, and, by threatening the lady, made her relinquish the promise.

After that a match was proposed to the Duke of Modena's daughter, which in a short time took effect; and the Earl of Peterborough, who had the negotiation of that matter, and was the Duke's proxy in the ceremony of marriage, was bringing the lady over through France, when the Duke, apprehensive that the Commons would intermeddle in the matter, moved the King to prorogue the Parliament for a week, and a commission was ordered for it; but the Chancellor Shaftesbury designedly delayed it so long that the Commons came to a vote for stopping the marriage, and when the prorogation was over they addressed the King against it, but he gave them no answer, so that all further application ceased, and in the winter following the Duchess came over. She was then very young, about sixteen, but of a full growth, a very graceful person, with a good measure of beauty, and so much wit and cunning, that during all this reign she behaved herself in so obliging a manner, and seemed so innocent and good, that she gained upon all who came near her, and possessed them with such impressions of her, that it was long before her behaviour, when she came to be queen, could make them change their sentiments of her. With such art and dexterity did she manage herself upon all occasions, that she was enough to deceive even the eldest and most judicious persons. She avoided the appearance of a zealot or a meddler in business; all her diversion was innocent cheerfulness, with a little mixture of satirical wit that would now and then break out; but it was taken well, and imputed to the levity of youth not enough practised in the world; and upon these accounts she was universally esteemed and beloved as long as she was duchess.

The Parliament in their last session had discovered an uneasy temper, which the King, with all his concessions, could hardly satisfy. They disliked the Dutch war, they were disgusted at the Duke's religion, and had made remonstrances against his intended marriage with an Italian Papist; and therefore it was the advice of some of the most moderate in his ministry, especially the Earls of Shaftesbury and Arlington, to send the Duke for some time from the Court, as a good expedient, at the beginning of a session, to mollify matters; and the King so far complied with their proposal that he suffered them to acquaint the Duke with it. But he never forgave any one who was accessory to the advice, and Lord Shaftesbury, whom he reckoned a principal in it, was immediately dismissed from the Seals, which were given to Finch, then Attorney-General, and made afterwards Earl of Nottingham. He was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws, long admired for his eloquence, but it was stiff and affected, and, before he died, he saw it neglected and fall under contempt. He had no manner of knowledge of foreign affairs, and yet he loved to talk much of them, which exposed him to the derision of those who understood them. He was an uncorrupt judge, and in that province resisted the strongest applications, even of the King himself, though he did it nowhere else, for he thought himself bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader more than the gravity of a senator. His original, which has proved a traditional fault, was to be too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation; but one thing he did of great commendation—he took care to fill the Church livings with learned men, and obliged them to constant residence.

When the House of Commons met, they were not in so good a temper but that they were resolved to make a sacrifice of some obnoxious ministers. They began with the Duke of Lauderdale, and voted an address to remove him from the King's councils and presence for ever. They went next to the Duke of Buckingham, but he, desiring to be heard at the bar, laid such a load on the King and Duke, and especially on Lord Arlington, as lost him the King's favour for ever, though it contributed nothing to save himself. Lord Arlington was the next that they fell upon, and when he appeared before the House he excused himself, though most obnoxious, as being Secretary of State, without any odious imputations on the King, in such a manner that he was acquitted by a small majority; but the King did not well approve of his defence.

All this while the Commons were silent as to the giving any money towards the continuance of the war, for they were resolved, by their retentiveness, to compel the King to make peace with the Dutch. When this was perceived, Lord Arlington applied to the Spanish ministers that they would persuade the States and the Prince of Orange to get a proposition of peace set on foot; and, that the King's honour might be preserved, and the first overtures seem to proceed from them, that they would offer the sum of two or three hundred thousand pounds, which should be repaid to the Prince, in discharge of the debt which the King had long owed him.

This proposition was made, and with much reluctancy on the King's part agreed to; but he could not help it; there was no drawing money, which he much wanted, from the Parliament without it. And when he made his complaint to the French envoy to this purpose, he told him he would extricate him from all difficulties and dishonourable circumstances by prevailing with his master to make him the arbiter and mediator of a peace between the Dutch and France. What made the French the readier to offer this proposal was the success that attended the Prince of Orange's arms, which in a year and a half's time had quite changed the face of affairs. He had taken Naerden, taken Bonn, and by that means cut off the supplies that the French sent down to their garrisons on the Rhine and Isel. The Emperor had come into an alliance, and both the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster made a peace with the States; so that the French were inclinable enough to get out of the war, and when they were so, it was an easy compliment to the King to accept of his mediation.

The Court was at this time not a little disturbed with some discoveries that had been made in Holland. Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the plenipotentiaries at Cologne, on his return from thence, prevailed with Wicquefort, the Dutch secretary who translated all the intelligences that came from England, to deliver some of the original letters into his hand, and, upon examination, most of them proved to be written by Lord Howard's brother, and who was afterwards Lord Howard himself, a man of wit and learning, but always poor, and ready to undertake anything that was bold. He had run through many parties in religion; in Cromwell's time had been rebaptized, and preached in London; and, upon his usurpation of the Government, set up against him as a strong Commonwealth's man. In the beginning of the war he offered to serve De Witt; and when the Prince was advanced, he undertook both to send him good intelligence and to make him a party in

England. In some of his letters he pressed the Prince to make a descent on England, only to force the King to call a Parliament, and drew a manifesto to that purpose, such as he believed would be acceptable to the nation. He was put in the Tower, and the Government would have proceeded with great severity against him, but, when notice was sent thereof to Holland, the States immediately ordered Wicquefort to be secured, and sent the King word that if any person suffered in England on account of the letters betrayed by him, his head should go for it; by which threat Howard was saved, but Wicquefort was kept so long in prison that it ruined him quite.

Upon these discoveries Lord Arlington offered to go over to Holland with the Earl of Ossory, upon presumption that they had interest enough with the Prince not only to come to the bottom of things, but to bring him likewise into an entire dependence on his uncle, and dispose him to a general peace, which France began to want, and the crown of England was to mediate. But Lord Arlington treated the Prince with such a superior air, and seemed to talk to him in the strain of a governor, presuming much on his youth and want of experience, that he lost him entirely, and, with all his endeavours afterwards, could never gain any confidence in him. This was Lord Arlington's last essay, and, as he succeeded in it very poorly, he ever after that withdrew from business.

Sir William Temple had been sent over to Holland the year before to dispose the people's minds to a peace. Lord Arlington had thrown him off when he went in with the French interest, and the other was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much blown up in his own conceit, which he showed too indecently on all occasions. He had a true judgment in affairs, and very good principles with relation to government; but in what related to religion he was very corrupt himself, and endeavoured to infect all who came near him. He was a great admirer of the sect of Confucius in China, who were atheists themselves, but left religion to the rabble. That all things were, as they are now, from eternity, was one of his darling notions, and his practice was accordingly ease and luxury and studied pleasure. In his Letters, however, he has given us a full and true representation of our affairs abroad, and handed down to posterity a character so sublime, as well as so genuine, of the Prince of Orange, as raises him much above all the performances of panegyric; and, to them we refer the reader who is desirous of fuller satisfaction, and proceed now in an account how matters were carried on in Scotland.

The Parliament had in the year 1663 given the King in trust a power to lay impositions on foreign commodities, and accordingly a heavy duty was laid on French salt, brandy, and tobacco, which, being things of general consumption, lay heavily upon the body of the people. This and Duke Lauderdale's insolence, as well as engrossing all things to himself and a few of his friends, raised a very high discontent all over the nation, so that when the Parliament was opened, and the King's letter read, desiring their assistance in carrying on the war with Holland, Duke Hamilton, as it was concerted, moved that the state of the nation might be first considered, that so they might see what grievances they had, and devise proper means to have them redressed, and was followed in the motion by twenty men one after another. This put Duke Lauderdale in a great consternation; and after he had put off the session for some time he called a Council, and desired that the grievances complained of in Parliament might be brought before him there, and that he was ready to redress them in the King's name; but Duke Hamilton and his party would consent to no such thing; they were for bringing the grievances before the Parliament, because they were minded to have the instruments of their oppression punished, as well as the oppression itself removed. When the like complaint, however, was brought in Parliament the next session, the Duke of Lauderdale managed matters so that he procured a vote referring all complaints to the Lords of the Articles, by which means he silenced all clamours against his administration for the future, because the Lords of the Articles being all upon the matter named by the King, would take care to bring before the Parliament nothing that should offend the King's commissioner.

Duke Lauderdale, however, perceived by this attempt made upon him what a faction was rising up against him, and took all possible methods to make himself more popular. He connived at the insolence of the Presbyterians, who had taken possession of one of the vacant churches in Edinburgh, and preached in it for some months. The Earl of Argyll and Sir James Dalrymple, a man of great temper and mild deportment, but no small share of cunning, were the persons on whom the Presbyterians depended most. They had been formerly at variance with the Duke, but were now taken into chief confidence, and proved, indeed, of great service to draw in many Presbyterians to his support.

But this sudden change in the Duke, and strange conduct with relation to the Presbyterians, provoked the clergy out of measure, and some hot men, who were not preferred according to their merit as they thought, grew very mutinous, and raised a grievous outcry against the negligence of the administration, and for want of a National Synod to regulate the worship and government of the Church.

Another disorder broke out which had greater effects. A cause being judged in the Supreme Court of Session, the party that had not justice done him, as he thought, appealed to the Parliament. This was looked on as a high contempt, done on design to make the Parliament a court of judicature, that so there might be a necessity of frequent Parliaments. The judges required all the lawyers to condemn it as contrary to law, and the King sent down an order to put all men from the bar who did not condemn it; and, when that would not do, a proclamation was issued out to banish them from Edinburgh and twelve miles about it, and without their submission by such a day, never to admit to practice again. Sir George Lockhart, the greatest lawyer and best pleader in the nation, with many more who depended on him, stood it out, and the day lapsed without their submitting. They, however, afterwards renounced appeals, in the sense of the Roman law, and were restored to their practice again, but this made a stop for a whole year in all legal proceedings.

The boroughs of Scotland have by law a privilege of meeting once a year in a body to consider of trade, and to make bylaws relating to it. At a Convention held this year a petition was agreed on, and sent to the King, complaining of some late acts that obstructed trade, and praying that when the King should send down his commissioner to hold a session of Parliament (of which there was great need), he might be instructed in relation to the repeal of them. But this petition was condemned as seditious, and those who promoted it were fined and imprisoned for it.

Thus Duke Lauderdale was lifted up out of measure, and resolved to crush all who stood in his way. He was made Earl of Guildford in England, had a pension of £3,000, and let himself loose to every ungoverned fury. Twelve magistrates of Edinburgh he turned out by the King's letter, declaring them for ever incapable of public trusts, and prevailed with him to have the author of this history struck out of the list of the chaplains, forbidden the Court, and banished, as it were, into Scotland. But he neglected to go, and it was not long before the Parliament had occasion for him; for when the House of Commons fell upon the Duke of Lauderdale, as they did the next session, he was four times called before their bar to testify what he knew concerning the Duke's design of arming the Irish Papists to quell the Presbyterians in Scotland, and of bringing a Scottish army into England to assist the King in making himself absolute. And his testimony was such that the House three times addressed the King against the Duke; but the King's answer was, "That though he would protect no man against law and justice, yet he would condemn none without special matter well made out." The author was not a little blamed for his conduct in this respect, and the King was so far incensed against him that he sent Secretary Williamson to Sir Harbottle Grimston, then Master of the Rolls, desiring him to dismiss him from being his preacher; but the Master answered, "That he was an old man, and fitting himself for another world; that he found the author's ministry useful to him in that respect, and thereupon prayed that he might be excused."

Sir Harbottle had to the very last (and he lived till eighty-two) a great soundness of health, of memory, and of judgment. In the beginning of the Long Parliament he was a great assertor of the laws, and inveighed severely against all who had been concerned in the former illegal oppression. When that Parliament engaged in the league with Scotland, he would not swear the Covenant, and so discontinued sitting in the House. When the Covenant was laid aside, he came back and joined the Presbyterians in a high opposition to the Independents, and Cromwell in particular. He was afterwards one of the secluded members, the Speaker of the House that called home the King; and for that service was made Master of the Rolls, where he continued to his death with great reputation and renown, for he was a just and righteous judge, a good and charitable man, and a very pious and devout Christian, an enemy to Popery and arbitrary power, and steadfast in the communion of the Church, though with great tenderness to Dissenters.

When the Earl of Danby came into the ministry he set up to be the patron of the Church party and of the old Cavaliers.

The King had neglected his best and surest friends too long, it was said, and therefore a new measure was taken up to do all possible honours to the memory of King Charles I. and all who had been in his interest. To this purpose a statue of brass, on horseback, that had been long neglected, was bought and set up at Charing Cross,[1] and a very magnificent funeral was appointed for him. And to distinguish men of loyalty, as well as exclude all Dissenters, a Declaration renouncing the lawfulness of resistance in any case whatever, and an engagement to endeavour no alteration in Church or State, was designed to be a necessary qualification of all who might choose or be chosen members of Parliament.

When this came to be debated in the House of Lords it met with strong opposition, and the House sat ofttimes upon it till midnight. Lord Danby, Lord Finch, and some of the bishops were the chief arguers for it; and the necessity of having some method to discriminate the good subjects from the bad, of preserving a good constitution by all prudent methods, of preventing the designs of men of bad principles, and of securing the nation from relapsing into such miseries as it had lately escaped from, were the chief topics that they insisted on.

That all tests in public assemblies were dangerous, and contrary to public liberty; that they were of no use to the purpose intended, nor any restraint upon the generality of mankind; that to bind the legislature by any previous limitation was incongruous; and to exclude any freeholder from the liberty of voting was depriving him of his birthright; that to bind men up against making any alteration, against making any resistance, was unreasonable, since every new law was so far an alteration, and some cases there might be wherein resistance might be lawful; —these were the arguments on the other side; and Lord Shaftesbury took care to distinguish his resentment against the Court by putting some cases: "If a king should make us a province and tributary to France, should subdue the nation by a French army, or bring us under the Papal authority, must we be bound in that case tamely to submit?" with many more cutting things, spoken with that boldness and that caution at the same time, that how highly soever the Court might be provoked at him, and how insidiously soever watch his words, they could find no pretence or umbrage to send him to the Tower. In the debate, though the Court carried every question in favour of the Test, yet it was with great opposition and protestations made upon every step; and an unlooked-for emergency came at last, that put an end to the Test and the session both at once.

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[1] The statue was cast by Le Seurs in 1633, at the expense of the Howard-Arundel family, and sold during the great rebellion to John River, a brazier in Holborn, with strict orders to break it to pieces. He buried it till the Restoration, and in 1678 it was placed where it stands, upon the pedestal executed by Grinling Gibbons.

Ever since the end of King Charles I.'s reign petitions of appeal from decrees in Chancery were brought to the House of Lords. A petition of appeal was brought against a member of the House of Commons. The Lords received it and made an order upon it. The member, being served with the order, brought it into the House, and they voted it a breach of privilege for the Lords to meddle with any of their House, and passed a vote against any lawyers that should plead at the Lords' bar in this case. The lawyers, however, ventured to plead, and as they went from the bar were, by an order from the House of Commons, sent to the Tower; but there were, by another order from the Lords, set at liberty; so that the two Houses now being entered into a kind of war, it was necessary to have them prorogued, and there were some apprehensions that this breach, unless timely cured, would force the Court to a dissolution, which, after long practising upon the members and knowing their complexions so well, would have given them no small mortification.

The Earl of Danby had a method of managing the House of Commons different from those who were in the ministry before him. They had taken off the great and leading men, and left the herd as a despised company; but he reckoned that the major number was the surer game, and that ten of these might be purchased cheaper than one of the great ones; and therefore he made his applications to them. But then they were generally persons of such a low size and mean abilities that they were baffled in all debates, and others who were well enough inclined to vote in all obedience were ashamed to appear on a side that upon every turn was so manifestly run down in point of argument.

The ablest man of his party was Seymour, descended of a great family, and a graceful man, bold and quick. But he had a kind of pride peculiar to himself, wherein he retained neither shame nor decency, and till he had forced himself into good posts was always violent against the Court. He was the first Speaker of the House of Commons not bred to the law, and the most assuming Speaker that ever sat in the chair. But he knew the House and every man in it so well that by looking about it he could tell the fate of any question. So, if anything was put when the Court-party was not well gathered together, by wilfully mistaking or misstating the question, he would have kept the House in suspense till a majority was come in, and then would very fairly state the question when he saw the party was sure to carry it.

The management in these matters was so glaringly visible that many of the Court were glad to be out of the way at critical times, and some ventured to vote on the contrary side. And so, when Harvey, who was treasurer to the Queen, had voted one day against what the King desired, and was severely chided for it, and the next day upon some important question had voted as the King would have him, and the King took notice of it and said, "You were not against me to-day," he replied, "No, sir, I was against my conscience to-day." Nor seemed the King to be offended at the answer, though there was a peculiar sharpness in it that made it much remarked.

A new session met next winter; but before the King could obtain any supply, the petition of appeal, that had broken the former session, was brought into the House of Lords. The Lords went upon it, and the Commons opposed it so vigorously that there was a necessity for another prorogation, and some in the House of Lords moved for a dissolution, since all due correspondence between the two Houses was so irrecoverably gone.

The dissolution of the Parliament was a thing that terrified many of the House of Commons, who were ruined in their fortunes, and lived upon their privileges and pensions. They were some of them high for the Church, others high for the Prerogative, and upon that account had been chosen, when the nation was in a fit, or rather a fury, of loyalty. But they had but small hopes of coming into Parliament again in case it should be dissolved. This was a party attached to the Court, and that lived chiefly by the places and pensions of it. And in opposition to these there was another party formed, that declared more heartily for the Protestant religion and for the interest of England. The person of greatest credit among these was Sir William Coventry, one who had a perfect knowledge of affairs, and laid open the errors of the Government with more authority, because he mixed no passion or private resentment in his speeches. Colonel Birch was a man of a peculiar character. He had been a carrier at first, and retained still, even to an affectation, the clownishness of his education. In the progress of the war he became a colonel, was concerned in the excise, and his usefulness in that particular obtained him a considerable post at the Restoration. He was the roughest and boldest speaker, and perhaps best qualified to carry a popular assembly before him, of any in the House; for he spoke with much life and heat in the phrase and language of a carrier, but with a beauty and eloquence that were always acceptable, and made an atonement for his want of judgment. Waller was the delight of the House, for even at eighty he spoke the liveliest things among them; but he was a vain though witty man, and aimed more at applause in what he said than the good of his country or the business of the House. This, however, is peculiar in his commendation, that he was one of the greatest refiners of our language and poetry, and for nearly sixty years one of our best writers that way. Lord Russell was a man of great candour and general reputation, universally beloved and trusted, of a generous and obliging temper, and if there had been any defect in his understanding (as there was none when he came to consider things at his own leisure), his virtues were so many and so eminent that they outbalanced that by a great deal of overweight. Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl, and then Duke of Devonshire, had the courage of a hero, with an unusual proportion of wit and knowledge, and a peculiar softness in his exterior deportment; but he was too much a libertine, both in his principle and practice. Powle was very learned in precedents and Parliament journals, which got a great way in debates; and when he had time to prepare himself was a clear and strong speaker. But Lyttleton was the ablest and most vehement arguer of them all. He commonly lay quiet till the end of the debate, and he often finished it, for he spoke with a strain of conviction and authority that was not to be resisted. Sir Thomas Lee was a man who valued himself upon artifice and cunning, in which he was a great master, without being out of countenance when it was discovered; and Vaughan, the Chief Justice's son, was a man of integrity, and though he had much pride, yet he did much service.

These were the chief men who preserved the nation from a very deceitful Court and a very corrupt House of Commons; and by their skill and firmness, from a small number that began the opposition, grew at last to be the majority. And in this situation were matters of Parliament when the long prorogation came upon them.

It was much about this time when Lockhart, the ambassador in France, died—a good minister, and who in several instances had acted with great spirit and resolution in relation to his master's honour, one of which it may not be improper to mention as a lesson of instruction to such persons as sustain the characters of princes. He had a French Papist servant who was dying, and sent for the sacrament. When the sacrament was brought him in the pomp and procession usual on such occasions, Lockhart, hearing thereof, ordered his gates to be shut, his men to stand to their arms, and, in case any violence was offered, to fire. And when all was over he went to Court and expostulated the matter, how an open triumph had been attempted on his master's religion and an affront put upon him, and thereupon demanded reparation for so public an injury. The King of France was not well pleased with this resolute behaviour, but the Court of England was forced to justify him in it, and thought it advisable to send him a letter of thanks for it; but soon after this he fell into a languishing, which in some few months carried him off.

The Earl of Danby had, in a former session, been struck at in Parliament, but acquitted, and began now to seek popularity by declaring in all companies against France and Popery. And the see of London being now vacant by the death of Henchman, he brought in Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, to succeed him in it—a man very zealous against Popery, and a great patron of converts from it, and such refugees as, for the Protestant religion, were forced over from France. He had carried arms for some years, but when he was past thirty he took orders, and applied himself more to his function than bishops had commonly done, for he went much about his diocese, and preached and confirmed in many places; but his preaching was without much life or learning, for he had not gone through his studies with all the exactness that was requisite to form a divine. In fine, he was a humble and modest man, but weak and wilful, and strangely wedded to a party.

About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was promoted to the see of Canterbury. He was a man of solemn deportment, had a sullen gravity in his looks, put on a monastic strictness, lived abstracted from company, and was considerably learned. These things, together with his being unmarried, and fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and a superstitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude that he was a man who might be entirely gained to serve all their ends, or at least give them no opposition in what they were to attempt when they had more promising opportunities. The truth is, he was a dry, cold man, reserved and peevish, loved by none and esteemed by few; yet the High Church party were well enough pleased with his promotion.

As Lord Danby thus raised his creatures in the Church, so he got all men turned out of their places that did not entirely depend on him, and went on in his credit with the King, still assuring him that if he would leave things to his conduct he would certainly recover the whole Cavalier party again to him.

All this while the Papists were not idle; they tried their strength with the King to get the Parliament dissolved, thereby to divide him and his people and confirm his dependence on France. Coleman was a man who had been long bred among the Jesuits, and understood the art of managing controversies,[1] particularly the great one of the authority of the Church, better than any of their priests. He had a great easiness in writing in several languages, and was, indeed, the chief correspondent the party had in England. He was a bold man, resolved to raise his fortune, lived at a vast expense, and talked in so positive a manner that he discovered a consciousness of being well supported. He had been set about the Duchess at her first coming over as her secretary, but was then dismissed her service at the instances of the Bishop of London; yet he was still in much favour with the Duke, and was perpetually writing many letters to all places, but chiefly to the Court of France,[2] setting forth the good state of the Duke's affairs, the great strength he daily acquired, and giving all assurances that if a peace could be brought about so that the King of France might be at liberty to assist them with money and forces, they were now in a hopeful way of succeeding in the great design of rooting out the pestilent heresy that had so long overrun these northern kingdoms.

He had a correspondent, one Sir William Throgmorton, whom he had sent over and recommended to the King's confessor, F. Ferrier, and might have been of great service to him, had he not come to an untimely end; but one day, when he was visiting an English gentlewoman of the same religion, one Lady Brown, he received a deep stab with a knife in his thigh, which pierced the great artery and made such an effusion of blood as could not be stopped. How he came by this wound—whether the lady did it to defend herself, or he to show the violence of his passion—was not known, nor could the ambassador who was then at Paris ever come at the secret of the matter. Coleman, however, soon got him another correspondent, one F. St. German, a Jesuit, and was in such high confidence with the Duke that when Howard was made a cardinal, and the King and Duke upon that occasion sent compliments to Rome, which opened a negotiation with that Court, which negotiation was put in the hands of the internuncio at Brussels, the Duke sent Coleman over to manage it with him. The proposal was to give the King a sum of money if, in return, some answerable favours for those of their religion could be obtained; but when Coleman came he found the sum offered so small, and the conditions demanded so high, that he made no progress in the negotiation. Only he took care to make his own market, and drew from the French ambassador two thousand five hundred guineas at once to gain his master some friends, as he pretended; but he applied it all to furnish out his own expense.

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[1] He once maintained a conference alone with the author and Dr. Stillingfleet, at Sir Philip Terwit's house, for the satisfaction or conviction of his lady, which has since been published.

[2] Upon these letters he was afterwards convicted and executed.

At this time the Earl of Essex came over from being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was the son of Lord Capell, and though his education was neglected by reason of the war, yet when he came to man's estate he made himself master of the Latin tongue, and attained a considerable knowledge in mathematics, in the laws and constitution of his own country, and in many other parts of learning. He had some early resentments against the Court, but the King was resolved to make use of him, and accordingly sent him his ambassador to Denmark, where his behaviour in the affair of the flag,[1] and his wise vindication of it, even out of the Danish records and customs, redounded both to his own and the nation's glory. Upon his return from Denmark he was sent over to Ireland, where, by his studying the interest and constitution of the nation, by his preferring men of merit, and preventing corruption in all that were about him, he made his government exceed all that had gone before him, and is ever since considered as a pattern to those who come after him. The Earl of Ranelagh had at that time the management of the revenue of Ireland, and was one of the ablest men that island had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midst of a loose run of pleasure and much riot; he had a pleasantness in conversation that took much with the King, had engaged to furnish him with money for the rebuilding of Windsor, and did probably pay the Duchess of Portsmouth a great yearly pension out of his office. For this reason, when the King was very pressing with Lord Essex to pass Lord Ranelagh's accounts, "As accounts, he said, he could not pass them; but if the King would forgive Lord Ranelagh, he would pass a discharge for him, but not an ill account." The King was not pleased with this answer, nor with his exactness in that government, which reproached his own too much; and therefore he took a resolution to place the Duke of Ormond in it again.

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[1] The King of Denmark had ordered the Governor of Groonenburg to make all ships that passed strike to him; and when Lord Essex was sailing by, he sent to him either to strike or sail by in the night, or keep out of reach, otherwise he must shoot first with powder and next with ball. But Lord Essex sent answer again that neither would he strike, nor sail by in private, nor keep at a distance, for the Kings of England made ships of all other nations strike to them, and therefore, if he did shoot at him, he would defend himself. And afterwards, when he came to the Court of Denmark, he justified his behaviour in such a manner as gained him great reputation.

There was about this time a proposition made for farming the revenue of Ireland, and Lord Danby for some time seemed to favour one set of men, but afterwards, all on a sudden, flew off to another. This occasioned some suspicion of bribery, and when examination was made at the Council-table, Lord Widrington owned that he had made an offer of a round sum to Lord Danby, but denied that the other accepted it; whereupon Lord Halifax observed, "That the Lord Treasurer had rejected the offer very mildly, not in a manner to discourage a second attempt; and the meaning was obvious, he said, if a man should ask the use of another man's wife, and the other indeed refuse it, but with great civility."

This reflection nettled Lord Danby so, that he got him dismissed from the Council-board; whereat the Duke of York was not displeased, because, in the debates of the House of Lords on the declaration for a toleration, among other severe things, he had said, "That if we could make good the Eastern compliment, O King, live for ever! he could trust the King with everything; but since that was so much a compliment that it could never become real, he could not be implicit in his confidence;" an imputation of such disparity between the two brothers and their designs as the Duke's temper would not easily allow him to forgive!

The Parliament had now been prorogued for about a year and some months by two different prorogations, and at the opening of this session a debate was brought on in the House of Lords about the legality of the late prorogation. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, were the supporters of it; and their allegation was, "That since by the ancient laws a Parliament was to be held once a year, a prorogation that ran beyond a year, and hindered the Parliament for sitting that year, was illegal, and implied a dissolution of it." But how stiffly soever they maintained the argument, they were defeated in the vote by a great majority; and thereupon ensued another debate, viz., whether these lords were not liable to censure for offering a debate that might create distractions in the subjects' minds concerning the legality of Parliament. It was carried, to oblige them to ask pardon as delinquents, which if they refused, it was resolved to send them to the Tower. They refused to ask pardon, and so were sent to the Tower, where they continued close prisoners for some months; but, upon their petitioning the King, were at length set at liberty.

The debate about the dissolution of the Parliament in the House of Lords put many of the other House in a terrible fright, and made them very free in their concessions to the Court, for they voted £600,000 for the building of thirty ships; they continued an additional excise for three years longer; and were in all things so compliant that the Court had not seen for many years so hopeful a session as this. But the good humour they were in did not last long, and was in a great measure rebated by the conquests that the King of France was making in Flanders, enough to cause other nations to look about them. For though the Prince of Orange had the last year gone up to his very camp, and offered him battle, while he was besieging Bouchain, and lay with his army covering it, yet this did not stop the progress of his arms, for he was now making one of his early campaigns, in which he first took Valenciennes, and then dividing his army into two parts, with one he sat down before Cambray, and the other, which his brother commanded, besieged St. Omer. The death of Turenne, who was killed by a random cannon-shot, when a great design, which would have probably proved fatal to the German army, died with him, was a great loss to the King of France; for he was the most cautious and most obliging general that ever commanded an army. The Duke de Condé was sent to command in his stead, but he was inferior to him in all that related to the command, unless it was in the day of battle, in which the presence of mind and vivacity of thought, which were wonderful in him, gave him some advantage; but he had too much pride to be as civil and condescending, and was too much a slave to pleasure to be as careful and diligent in business as the other was.

After the taking of Valenciennes, the Prince of Orange, looking on St. Omer as a more important place than Cambray, went thither, and ventured a battle a little too rashly. Luxemburg, with a great body of horse, came into the Duke of Orleans's army just as they were engaging; some regiments of marines, on which the Prince depended much, basely ran away, yet the other troops fought so well that he lost not much besides the honour of the day, only the consequence of the action was, that St. Omer did immediately capitulate, and Cambray within a few days.

These things happening during this session of Parliament made great impression on people's minds, and both Houses were of opinion that the progress of the French arms would end in the ruin of the United Provinces, and prove of fatal consequence to the interest of England; and therefore they frequently addressed the King to withdraw his mediation, and enter into an alliance against France. But he rejected their addresses with angry messages, and at last dismissed them with a very unwelcome speech, "That peace and war were undoubtedly his prerogative, and therefore they did wrong in going so far in matters that were above them, and wherein he himself was only concerned," though there had been many precedents alleged to justify their conduct in interfering in things of so high a nature.

When the session was over Lord Danby saw his ruin was unavoidable if he could not bring the King off from a French interest and attach him to another; and therefore he failed not to give, by the mediation of Sir William Temple, all possible assurances to the Prince of Orange, pressing him likewise to make some compliances on his side, and possessed him with hopes of bringing about a match with the Duke's daughter, which was universally desired of the Protestant party, both at home and abroad. In short, he prevailed with him so far as to ask the King's leave to come over at the end of the campaign; and after he was come over, Lord Danby, pretending that it was the common advice of the King's best friends, and what would give a general satisfaction to the Parliament, prevailed with the King to consent himself, and to lay his commands upon the Duke, that his daughter should be married to the Prince; and accordingly, before any instruments could be employed to prevent it, got the marriage declared in Council, to the great joy of England, as well as disappointment of the King of France's expectations.

Upon the general satisfaction that this marriage gave the whole nation, a new session of Parliament was called in the beginning of this year, to which the King declared the sense he had of the dangerous state their neighbours were in, and that it would be necessary for him to be put in a posture to bring things to a balance; and, to effect this, the House was pressed to supply the King with money sufficient to maintain both an army and a fleet. There were several arguments against a land army—as the danger that might follow on it, the little use that could be made of it, and the great charge it must put the nation to; but the King had promised so many commissions to men of both Houses, that it was carried for an army; and it being pretended that the Spaniards were willing to put Ostend and Nieuport into our hands, it would neither be honourable nor safe, they said, to commit the custody of them to foreign forces. After this a severe act passed, prohibiting all importation of French manufactures or growth for three years; a Poll Bill was granted, together with the continuance of the additional customs, that were near falling off; and £600,000 given for the land army and fleet.

While these preparations were making in England, the King of France made a step that struck terror into the Dutch, and inflamed the English out of measure. Louvois proposed to him the taking of Ghent, as a place so in the neighbourhood of the Dutch that it could not but dispose them to a peace; and to that end he laid such a scheme of marches and countermarches as amused all the allies till Ghent was all on a sudden invested, and both the town and citadel quickly taken. This was Louvois' masterpiece, and had the intended effect; for it brought the Dutch to resolve on a peace, and gave such an alarm to England that the Duke of Monmouth was immediately sent over with some of the guards.

But it is time now to look back to Scotland. The field conventicles, as was said before, increased mightily, and men came armed to them, upon which great numbers were outlawed, and a writ was issued, that was legal indeed, but seldom used, called Intercommuning, because it made all that harboured such persons, or did not seize them when they had them in their power, to be involved in the same guilt. By this means many, apprehending a severe persecution, left their houses, went about like a sort of banditti, and fell into a fierce and savage temper, insomuch that the Privy Council was forced to place garrisons in several parts for the suppression of these riotous meetings, and the counties were required to supply them with all things necessary.

A strange thing had happened to Sharp in July, 1668; for, as he was getting into his coach, a man came up and discharged a pistol at him; but missing him, it shattered the Bishop of Orkney's arm, who was with him, and so the man went off; for though it was full daylight, and in the High Street, yet so universally was Sharp hated that nobody offered to seize the assassin. But Sharp had viewed him so narrowly that six years after he knew him, and had him taken up and examined. The man denied all at first, but, upon a promise of pardon made in the King's name, he offered to confess. Accordingly he was brought before the Council, and when Duke Lauderdale, who was then the King's Commissioner, had promised him his life, the man kneeled down and confessed the fact, and told the whole manner of it; and in punishment of his crime was committed to a castle that was on the Bass,[1] there to remain a prisoner for life. The thing had almost been forgot after four years, and Mitchel (for that was his name) was a man in all respects very inconsiderable; but, notwithstanding this, Sharp was now resolved to have his life, and accordingly brought him to Edinburgh in order for his trial. The trial was solemn, and Lockhart, who was his counsel, made a long and learned defence, but every plea was overruled by the court; his confession was found judicial; his promise of life was denied; and when a copy of the act of Council that made express mention of it was produced, neither were the books allowed to be sent for, nor the copy admitted in evidence; and so the poor man's defence was rejected, and he was cast and condemned. After this, when his case came to be considered in Council, and some were for respiting his death, and referring him to the King's mercy, Sharp complained that such procedure would upon the matter be the exposing his person to any man who would attempt to murder him, since favour was to be shown to such an assassin; whereupon Duke Lauderdale followed with this impious jest, "Then let Mitchel glorify God in the grass-market, which was the place where he was to be hanged." This action, with all concerned in it, was looked on by all people with horror; and was probably one reason, both in the just judgment of God and the inflamed fury of men, that brought Sharp, two years after, to such a dismal end.

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[1] The Bass is a high rock on the mouth of the Firth of Forth.

The conventicles in the west went still on, and the people, by the instigation of some hot and hare-brained preachers, became very giddy and furious, which lessened Duke Lauderdale's credit at Court, and enraged him to that degree that he threatened to ruin and lay waste the whole country if a speedy stop was not put to them. To this purpose he first published an order requiring all landlords in the western counties to enter into a bond for themselves, their wives, children, servants, tenants, and all that lived upon their estates, that they should not go to conventicles, nor harbour any vagrant teachers or any intercommuned persons, and that they should in all points live according to the laws, under the penalties thereof. This was generally refused as a thing contrary to law and impossible for them to do, as not having such control over their servants and tenants; and upon their refusal Duke Lauderdale wrote to the King that the country was in a state of rebellion, and that it was necessary to proceed to hostilities for reducing them. The King left it to him and the Council to take care of the public peace in the best manner they could; and so all the forces were sent into the west with some cannon, as if they had been going upon a dangerous expedition, and the lords of the Highlands were required to summon all their strength to assist the King's army, insomuch that eight thousand men were brought into the country and let loose upon free quarter. Duke Hamilton and others, who were grieved to see such waste made on their estates, came to Edinburgh to try if they could mitigate such proceedings; but a proclamation was issued out requiring all the inhabitants of those counties to repair to their houses, and be assistant to the King's host, and obey such orders as should be sent them; and by another proclamation all men were forbidden to go out of the kingdom without leave from the Council on the pretence that their stay in it would be necessary for the King's service. All this was done so palpably to force a rebellion that the people saw through it, and bore the present oppression more quietly than otherwise they would have done but Duke Lauderdale's party was so sanguine in their hopes of fomenting one, that they began to reckon upon confiscated lands, and on Valentine's day, instead of drawing for mistresses, drew for estates.

When this would not do, another expedient was tried. All the chief men of the country were summoned before a committee of the Council, and charged with many great crimes, of which they were required to purge themselves by oath, otherwise they were to be proceeded against as guilty. It was in vain to repine at the illegality of this practice: take the oath they must, or stand to the penalty of it, and so they all took it; nor did there appear, upon the strictest examination, one single circumstance of an intended insurrection. When all things failed them they had recourse at last to a writ,[1] which a man who suspects another of ill designs against him may serve him with. This lies against the whole family, and the master is answerable if any of the household break it. So here, by a new and unheard-of practice, this writ was served upon the whole country at the King's suit, and upon serving it security was to be given, much like our binding men to their good behaviour. Many were put in prison for refusing to give such security, and Duke Hamilton had intimations sent him that there was a design to proceed in the same manner against him; for what occasioned their suspicion and indignation against him was an accident that happened some time before.

One Carstairs, a loose and vicious man, who had wasted his estate, and now got some money by procuring informations against those who frequented conventicles, decoyed Kirkton, an eminent preacher among them, and brother-in-law to Baillie of Jerviswood, a gentleman of great parts, but of much greater virtue, into his lodgings; and there, under pretence of having a warrant to carry him to prison, endeavoured to extort money from him, and used him very roughly. Baillie had information of it, and as he came to the rescue of his brother-in-law he heard him cry out "Murder!" whereupon he forced the door, drew his sword, and made Carstairs, whom he found sitting upon him, come off, and then demanded to see the warrant, which the other refusing to show, he took Kirkton along with him, and so went away without the offer of any violence. Carstairs had, in truth, then no warrant; but before next Council-day he procured one signed by nine Privy Councillors and antedated; and when Baillie was cited before the Council for making a riot, though he brought his witnesses to prove his behaviour, they would not so much as examine them, but without liberty of making his defence they fined him in the sum of £500, and condemned him to a year's imprisonment. Duke Hamilton and Lord Kincardine, who were then of the Council, could not but argue against this method of proceeding, as more like a court of Inquisition than any legal government; and for this they were turned out of the Council as enemies to the Church and as favourers of conventicles.

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[1] The writ was called Law-boroughs, because it was most used in boroughs.

Under these circumstances Duke Hamilton had reason to suspect the worst; and therefore he and ten or twelve of the nobility, with about fifty gentlemen of quality, went up to London to complain of all this; but the King refused to see them, because they came out of their country in contempt of a proclamation; though a proclamation, as they urged for themselves, when it hindered them from bringing their complaints to the King, was one of the greatest grievances they had to complain of.

The arrival of the Scotch nobility in town happening in the time of the session of Parliament occasioned a great noise, and men began to make constructions, from the management in Scotland, what the true spirit of the Government was. The House of Commons hereupon made a new address against Duke Lauderdale, and that was followed with one of a higher strain, representing to the King the ill effects of not hearkening to their addresses in the former year with relation to foreign affairs, desiring him to change his ministry, and to dismiss all those who had advised the prorogation at that time, and his delaying so long to assist the allies. The Duke of Lauderdale, however, to obviate all complaints against him, took the advantage of these noblemen's absence to desire leave from the King to summon a Convention of Estates, from whom he might more certainly understand the sense of the kingdom; and laid the matter so that before they could get home all the elections were over, and he master of above four parts in five of that assembly. So they granted an assessment for three years, in order to maintain a greater force, and wrote a letter to the King not only to justify, but highly commending Duke Lauderdale's government, which was so base and abject a thing that it brought the whole nation under great contempt.

All this while, though England was certainly in a secret negotiation with France, and Lord Danby had ordered Montague, our ambassador there, to treat with that Court for a separate peace, in case they would pay the King £300,000 a year for three years, yet the treaty at Nimeguen went on, where Temple and Jenkins were our plenipotentiaries ; and though the Prince of Orange was against it, the States were resolved on a peace, now that they might have what belonged to them restored, and a tolerable barrier besides granted them in Flanders. The only difficulty was concerning the King of Denmark and the Elector of Brandenburg, their allies, who had fallen upon the Swede when he declared for France, and had beaten him out of Germany. The Swede was certainly to be restored ; and France undertaking to satisfy Denmark and Brandenburg by repaying the charge of the war against Sweden, the treaty was finished and ratified, and a general peace soon after ensued.

Before the news of the peace was known, the Prince of Orange was marched with his army to the relief of Mons, which the French, under the command of Luxemburg, had blocked up. He had no intimations of the peace, no order to stop, nor any apprehension of a new embroilment, but rather wished it ; and therefore he fell upon them, and, notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, made it appear how much the Dutch army was now become superior to the French. The Earl of Ossory commanded the English forces that were in the States' service, which struck such terror into the French that Rouvigny, afterwards Earl of Galway, was sent over to negotiate matters, and offered a good sum of money for the disbandment of the army. But the army was brought over, and kept up under pretence that there was not money enough to pay them ; so that things began to look dark, and the party against the Court gave all for lost, when a sudden and unlooked-for accident made a great alteration, and put the nation into such a ferment that it well deserves to be opened very particularly.

Titus Oates was the son of an Anabaptist teacher, who afterwards conformed, got into orders, and took a benefice, as this his son did. He was proud and ill-natured, haughty, but ignorant. He had been complained of for some indecent expressions concerning the mysteries of religion ; had been once presented for perjury ; and was turned out from being chaplain in one of the King's ships upon a complaint of some unnatural practices not to be named. He got a qualification from the Duke of Norfolk as one of his chaplains, and there he first expressed his inclination to be instructed in the Popish religion, and had one Hutchinson, a Jesuit, for his instructor. After his conversion he was kept for some time at St. Omer's, from thence sent through France into Spain, and was now returned into England. He had been long acquainted with one Dr. Tonge, a chemical man, full of notions and projects that kept him poor, but a very poor divine, and a little simple and credulous, though sincere. To him he made his first discovery; and he, by the means of one Kirby, a chemist, who was sometimes in the King's laboratory, had an audience; but he told the King such an unconnected story of many passages, all relating to take away his life, that he knew not what to make of it; and when he communicated the thing to Lord Danby, he, believing nothing of it, was too remiss[1] in the prosecution of it, for otherwise the truth or importance of it might have certainly been discovered.

At last, on Michaelmas-eve, Oates was brought before the Council, and entertained them with a long relation of many discourses he had heard among the Jesuits, and of their design to kill the King. He named persons, places, and times almost without number. He said many Jesuits had disguised themselves, and were gone into Scotland, and held field conventicles there to distract the Government; that he was sent to St. Omer's, thence to Paris, and from thence to Spain, to negotiate this design; that upon his return, when he brought many letters and directions from beyond sea, there was a great meeting of the Jesuits held in London, in a tavern near St. Clement's; and that the result of their consultation was a resolution to kill the King by shooting, stabbing, or poisoning him, and that Coleman was privy to the whole design. This was the substance of what he declared the first day; whereupon many Jesuits were seized that night and next day, and their papers sealed up.

There were many things in this declaration that made it look like an imposture. Oates did not know Coleman at first, but when he heard him speak in his own defence, he named him; he named Wakeman, the Queen's physician, though he did not know him at all; Langhorne, who was the great manager for the Jesuits, he did not name; and when the King asked him what sort of man Don John (with whom he pretended to be intimate) was, he answered he was a tall, lean man, when the King knew him to be the very reverse. These were strong indications of a forgery. But what took away that suspicion was the contents of Coleman's letters, since by them it appeared that so many years ago the design of converting the nation and rooting out the northern heresy, as they called it, was so near its execution, since in them the Duke's great zeal was often mentioned with honour, and many indecent reflections made on the King for his inconstancy and disposition to be brought to anything for money; and since by them their dependence was expressed to lie in the French King's assistance, and his expeditious conclusion of a general peace, as the only means that could finish their design.

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[1] From the first information till Oates's examination was six weeks.

A few days after this a very extraordinary thing happened, that contributed more and more to confirm the belief of this evidence. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was an eminent justice of peace, who lived near Whitehall. He had stayed in London, and had kept things in order in the time of the plague, which gained him great reputation, and for which he was afterwards knighted. A zealous Protestant he was, and a true lover of the Church of England, but had kind thoughts of the Nonconformists, was not forward to execute the laws against them, and, to avoid doing that, was not apt to search for priests or mass-houses, so that few men of the like zeal lived on better terms with the Papists than he. Oates went to him the day before he appeared at the Council-board, and declared upon oath the narrative he intended to make, which Godfrey afterwards published a little imprudently, and was thereupon severely chid for seeming to distrust the Privy Council, and presuming to intermeddle in so tender a matter.

On Saturday, the 12th of October, he went abroad in the morning, was seen about one o'clock near St. Clement's Church, but was seen no more till his body was found, on the Thursday night following, in a ditch about a mile out of town, near St. Pancras Church. His sword was thrust through him, but no blood was on his clothes or about him; his shoes were clean, his money was in his pocket; a mark was all round his neck, which showed he was strangled; his breast was bruised, his neck was broken, and there were many drops of white wax-lights on his breeches, which being only used by priests and persons of quality, made people imagine in whose hands he had been.

Oates's evidence was, by means of this murder, so far believed that it was not safe to seem to doubt of it; and when the Parliament met he was called before the bar of the House of Commons, where he made a fresh discovery. He said that the Pope had declared England to be his kingdom, and accordingly had sent over commissions to make Lord Arundel of Wardour, Chancellor; Lord Powys, Treasurer; Sir William Godolphin, then in Spain, Privy Seal; Coleman, Secretary of State; Belasyse, General of the Army; Petre, Lieutenant-General; Ratcliffe, Major-General; Stafford, Paymaster-General; and Langhorne, Advocate-General, besides many other commissions for subaltern officers. And he now swore, upon his own knowledge, that both Coleman and Wakeman were in the plot; that Coleman had given eighty guineas to four ruffians to murder the King at Windsor; and that Wakeman had undertaken to poison him for £15,000; and he excused his not knowing them before by the fatigue and want of rest he had been under for two nights before, which made him not master of himself.

There were great inconsistencies in all this. That one man should not know another that was a principal in a plot wherein he himself was concerned; that one man should have £15,000 for a safe way of dispatching, and four but twenty guineas apiece for doing it openly; that he should love the King so well as he then pretended, and yet suffer these ruffians to go down to kill him, without giving notice of the danger—these and some other incongruities in the pretended commissions (for Belasyse was perpetually gouty, Petre was no military man, and Ratcliffe lived chiefly in the north), were characters sufficient of a fictitious discovery, had not some other incidents concurred to give it a further confirmation.

Bedloe was a man of a very vicious life, had gone by many false names, and defrauded many persons; had travelled over many parts of France and Spain as a man of quality, and made a shift to live by his wits, or rather by his cheats, so that conscience could hardly be the motive; and yet so it was that he delivered himself to the magistrates of Bristol, pretending he knew the secret of Godfrey's murder, and accordingly was brought to London and examined by the Secretary. He said he had seen Godfrey's body at Somerset House, and was offered by Lord Belasyse's servant £4,000 to assist in carrying it away, whereupon he had gone out of town as far as Bristol, but was so pursued with horror that he could not forbear discovering it, but at the same time denied that he knew anything of the plot, till, on the next day, when he was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, he made a full discovery of it, confirming the chief points of Oates's evidence, and pretending that his rambling over so many parts of Europe before was only in order to carry on the design.

While things were in this ferment at London, Carstairs, a person made mention of before, came from Scotland to complain of Duke Lauderdale's neglect in apprehending the chief preachers of conventicles when by certain stratagems he had decoyed them into his power. He had brought up such witnesses as he always had by him to prove the thing; and as he was looking about for a lucky piece of villainy, he chanced to go into an eating-house in Covent Garden, where one Staley, a Popish banker, was in the next room, and pretended that he heard him say in French that the King was a rogue, and persecuted the people of God, and that he himself would stab him if nobody else would. With these words he and one of his witnesses went to him next day, and threatened to swear them against him unless he would give them a sum of money. The poor man foresaw his danger, but he chose rather to leave himself to their malice than become their prey; so he was apprehended, and in five days brought to his trial. The witnesses gave full evidence against him to the purpose above mentioned, nor could he offer anything to invalidate their credit. All that he urged was, the improbability of his saying such dangerous words in a quarter of the town where almost everybody understood French; so he was cast, and prepared himself seriously for death, all along protesting that he knew of no plot, nor had ever said the words sworn against him, nor anything to that purpose. Carstairs, after some other instances of his villainy, died in great horror of conscience, ordering himself to be cast into some ditch as a dog, for he said he was no better.

There was one accident now fell in that tended not a little to impair Oates's credit. He had declared before the House of Lords that he had then informed concerning all persons of any distinction that he knew to be engaged in the plot, and yet after that he deposed that the Queen had a great share in it, and was, in his hearing, consenting to the King's death. But his pretence for not accusing her before was so lame and frivolous that it would not satisfy people, though Bedloe, to support his evidence, swore things of the like nature.

While examinations were thus going on, and preparation was making for the trial of the prisoners, a bill was brought into the House of Commons requiring all members of both Houses, and all such as came into the King's Court or presence, to take a test against Popery, in which not only transubstantiation was renounced, but the worship of the Virgin Mary and saints, as practised in the Church of Rome, was declared idolatrous. It passed both Houses without much opposition, only Bishop Gunning asserted that the Church of Rome was not idolatrous, nor the test to be taken with a good conscience, though he himself afterwards took it in the throng. The Duke, with much entreaty and many solemn protestations of his duty to the King and zeal for his country, whatever his private religion might be, obtained a proviso for himself; and a proviso was inserted for nine ladies about the Queen, which she said should be distributed by lot, but she carried her complaisance to the Duchess of Portsmouth so far as to name her, without exposing her to the uncertainty of chance.

When Coleman was brought to his trial, Oates and Bedloe swore flatly against him what was mentioned before; and he, to invalidate their evidence, insisted on Oates's not knowing him when they were confronted; on his being in Warwickshire at the same time that Oates swore he was in town; and on the improbability of his transacting such dangerous matters with two such men as he had never seen before. His letters to Père la Chaise were the heaviest part of the evidence, and to these he did not deny but that he had intentions to bring in the Catholic religion, but only by a toleration, not by rebellion or blood, and that the aid he had requested from France for that purpose was meant only of the advance of some money and the interposition of that Court. After a long trial he was found guilty, and sentence passed upon him to die as a traitor. He suffered with much composedness and devotion, and died much better than he lived, denying with his last breath every tittle of what the witnesses had sworn against him, though many were sent from both Houses, offering to interpose for his pardon if he would confess.

The nation was now so much alarmed that all people were furnishing themselves with arms, and a bill passed both Houses for raising the militia, and for keeping it together for six weeks, but the King rejected it, though he gave his consent to the disbanding the army; wherein the Commons were so diffident of him that they ordered the money to be brought, not into the Exchequer, but into the Chamber of London, and appointed a committee of their own members for paying it off and disbanding it.

While things were in this confusion a new incident happened that embroiled them yet more. The Earl of Danby had broken with Montague, even though he was conscious what secrets he had trusted him with; and therefore he resolved to be beforehand with him, for which purpose he prevailed with the King to send a message to the House of Commons that he purposed to bring Montague to a trial for being a confederate with Rome, and concerned in the plot to bring in Popery, and at the same time sent to secure his papers. But Montague was too cunning for them. He had put Lord Danby's letters into a safe hand, and when the thing came to be debated in the House, he produced two of them, containing instructions to him to treat with the King of France for £300,000 a year for three years, because it was not convenient for the King to meet his Parliament in that time. This was declaimed against in the House as a design to betray the allies, sell the nation, and subvert the Government, and by a great majority was voted high treason. But when the impeachment was carried up next day, there was a majority in the House of Lords against his commitment, which so enraged the other House, clamouring for want of justice, that the King, foreseeing that a storm was likely to arise, kept peace between them by two prorogations, and in January following dissolved them.

The courts of justice in the meanwhile were not idle, for in December, Ireland the Jesuit, and Grove and Pickering, two servants in the Queen's chapel, were brought to their trial. Oates and Bedloe swore home against Ireland that in August last he had given particular orders for killing the King; but he, in his defence, by many witnesses endeavoured to prove that on the 2nd of August he went into Staffordshire, and did not return till the 12th of September. Yet, in opposition to that, a woman swore that she saw him in London about the middle of August; and so, because he might have come up post in one day and gone down in another, this did not satisfy. Against Grove and Pickering they swore that they undertook to kill the King at Windsor; that Grove was to have £1,500 for doing it, and Pickering thirty thousand masses, which, at twelvepence a mass, amounts to the same money; that they attempted it three several times, but that once the flint was loose, at another time there was no powder in the pan, and at a third the pistol was only charged with bullets. This was strange stuff, but all was imputed to a Divine Providence. So the evidences were credited, and the prisoners condemned and executed, but they denied to the last every particular that was sworn against them.

This began to shake the credit of the evidence, when a more composed and credible person came in to support it. One Dugdale, who had been bailiff to Lord Aston, and lived in a fair reputation in the country, when he was put in prison for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, denied absolutely that he knew anything of the plot, but made afterwards great discoveries. He said that the Jesuits in London had acquainted Evers, Lord Aston's Jesuit, with the design of killing the King, and desired him to find out proper men to execute it; that Evers and Gavan, another Jesuit, had pressed him to undertake it; that they had promised to canonise him for it, and Lord Aston offered him £500 if he would set about it. And one instance to confirm the truth of what he asserted was his speaking in a public company (as several testified) of Godfrey's death, the Tuesday after he was missing, which he swore he saw in a letter written by Harcourt to Evers, which letter must have been sent on the very night that Godfrey was killed.

At the same time, a particular discovery was made of Godfrey's murder. Prance, a goldsmith that wrought for the Queen's Chapel, was, at the instigation of one who lodged in his house, seized upon suspicion; and as Bedloe was accidentally going by, knowing nothing of the matter, was challenged by him to be one of those whom he saw about Godfrey's body. Prance denied everything at first, but made afterwards this confession: that Gerald and Kelly, two priests, engaged him and three others—Green, who belonged to the Queen's Chapel; Hill, who had served Godden, one of their famous writers; and Berry, the porter of Somerset House—in this wicked deed; that they had several meetings, wherein the priests persuaded them that it was a meritorious action to dispatch Godfrey, in order to deter others from being so busy against them; that the morning before they killed him Hill went to his house to see if he was yet gone out, and spoke to his maid; that they waited his coming out, and dogged him all day, till he came to a place near St. Clement's, where he stayed till night; that as Godfrey passed by Somerset House water-gate two of them pretending to quarrel, another ran out to call a justice, and with much importunity prevailed with him to come and pacify them; that as he was coming along Green got behind him and threw a twisted cravat about his neck, and so pulled him down and strangled him; and that Gerald would have run his sword through him, but was hindered by the rest lest the blood might discover them; that when the murder was done, they carried the body into Godden's room (for he was in France), and Hill had the key of it; that two days after they removed it into a room across the upper court, but that being thought not so convenient, they carried it back to Godden's lodgings; that on Wednesday night they carried it out in a sedan, and when they had got clear of the town Green carried it on horseback to the place where it was found.

This was a consistent story, which was supported in some circumstances by collateral proofs; and yet when he came before the King and Council he denied all he had sworn, and said it was a mere fiction; but when he was carried back to prison, he said all was true again, and that the horror and confusion he was in made him deny it. Thus he continued saying and unsaying for several times; but at last he persisted in his first attestation; and by this and what Bedloe brought in evidence against them, Green, Hill, and Berry were found guilty and condemned. Green and Hill died, as they had lived, Papists, and with solemn protestations denied the whole thing; but Berry declared himself a Protestant, though he had personated a Papist for bread, for which dissimulation he thought this judgment had befallen him. But he denied what was charged against him, and to the last minute declared himself altogether innocent; and his dying a Protestant, and yet denying all that was sworn against him, was a triumph to the Papists, and gave them an opportunity to say that it was not the doctrine of equivocation, nor the power of absolution, but merely the force of conviction that made those of their religion do the same.

The Lord Chief Justice at this time was Sir William Scroggs, a man more valued for a good readiness in speaking well than either any learning in his profession or any moral virtue. His life had been indecently scandalous, and his fortune very low; and it was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a man raised up to that high post. Yet now, seeing how the stream ran, he went into it with so much zeal and heartiness that he became the people's favourite, and strove in all trials even with an indecent earnestness to get the prisoners convicted.

But their resolute manner of dying and protestations of innocence to the last began to make impression on people's minds, and impair the credit both of the judge and witnesses, till one Jennison, the younger brother of a Jesuit, and a gentleman of family and estate, but now turned Protestant, came in, as it were, to their relief; for, in contradiction to what Ireland died affirming, viz., that he was in Staffordshire at the time that Oates swore he was in London, he wrote a letter to a friend attesting that he was in company with Ireland on the 19th of August, and had much familiar talk with him, so that his dying affirmations were false. The letter was printed, and this use was made of it to vacate the truth of those denials wherewith so many ended their lives. But what afterwards destroyed the credit of the letter was the solemn protestation that the author made, as he desired forgiveness of his sins and hoped for the salvation of his soul, that he knew nothing of the plot; and yet the summer after he published a long narrative, wherein he said that himself was invited to assist in the murder of the King, and named the four ruffians who went to Windsor to do it.

While the witnesses were thus weakening their own credit, some practices were discovered that did very much support it. Reading, a lawyer of some subtlety but no virtue, who was employed by the lords in the Tower to solicit their affairs, had offered Bedloe some money of his own accord (as it afterwards appeared) to mollify his evidence against the lords, and had drawn up a paper to show him by how small a variation in his depositions he might bring them off. But Bedloe was too cunning for him. He had acquainted Prince Rupert and the Earl of Essex with the whole negotiation, and placed two witnesses in his room, when he drew Reading into a renewal of the proposal so commodiously that the attempt of corruption was plainly proved upon him, and he was set in the pillory for it. Some that belonged to the Earl of Danby conversed much with Oates's servants, who told them that their master was daily speaking odious things against the King; and one of them affirmed that he had once made an abominable attempt upon him. But when Oates smelt this out, he soon turned the tables upon them; for he prevailed with his servants to deny all, and had the others set in the pillory as defamers of the King's evidence. And to bring things of the same sort all together, one Tashborough, who belonged to the Duke's Court, proposed to Dugdale, in the Duke's name, but without his authority, that he should sign a retraction of what he had sworn, and go beyond seas, and have a considerable reward for so doing. But the other outwitted him likewise, and proving such practices upon him, had him both fined and set in the pillory.

This was the true state of the plot and of the witnesses who proved it, and men's minds were divided about the credibility of it. The generality were of an opinion that the bulk of what the evidences had deposed was true, though to all appearance they had dressed it up with very improbable circumstances. The Parliament was totally persuaded of the thing, and some men of learning who knew the principles of the Jesuits—their doctrine of deposing kings and murdering them at pleasure, and that pernicious tenet of making the goodness of anything depend upon the intention, and every kind of wickedness, for the sake of Mother Church, pass into a meritorious action—gave little heed to their solemn denials even at their execution. But others thought that what doctrines soever men might hold in speculation, the near approaches of death could not but oblige them to speak truth, and that the seriousness of their whole deportment was a certain indication of it. And thus we leave it to the reader's private sentiments and determination.

While things were in this situation, the country abounded with contests about the choice of Parliament men; but the late discovery of the plot and the dread of Popery made elections almost everywhere go against the Court. The King, being apprehensive that it would be impossible to meet a Parliament of this complexion to advantage without doing some gracious thing beforehand, prevailed with his brother to go beyond seas; but before he went away he gave him all possible satisfaction with relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who was now become popular; and made a solemn declaration in Council, and signed it, and took his oath on it, that he was never married nor contracted to the Duke's mother, nor to any other woman except the present Queen. The Duke hereupon parted with the King, who seemed not a great deal concerned, with much regret and many tears, and went to Brussels, where he was but coldly received.

At the first meeting of the Parliament it was usual for one who was of the Privy Council to name a Speaker, which nomination was supposed to proceed from the King; and the person thus named was put in the chair and presented to the King next day. The Court named Meres, but the House, taking no notice of that, proceeded to the choice of Seymour, who was then at enmity with Lord Danby, and, by striking in with great heat against Popery last session, was become very popular. However, when they presented him as their Speaker next day, the King, under pretence of having other indispensable occasions for him, refused to confirm their election. This occasioned much heat and long debates in the House, but at last they came to a compromise. Seymour's election was let fall, but the point was settled that the right of election was in the House, and that the royal confirmation was no more than a thing of course; and so another man was chosen Speaker.

Lord Danby was conscious what a storm this had raised in the House, and how the fury of it was pointed at him, and therefore, to cover himself, he took out a pardon under the Great Seal; but the Earl of Nottingham not daring to pass it, the Seal was set to it in the King's presence, who afterwards declared to the Parliament that as Lord Danby had done nothing but by his order, he had not only pardoned him, but if there were any defect in the pardon that he would pass it over and over again till it was undeniably legal.

Upon this a great debate arose whether the King's pardon, in bar of an impeachment, was good in law; but after much vehemence on both sides, at length this temper was proposed—that upon Lord Danby's going out of the way an act of banishment should pass against him like that which had passed against Lord Clarendon; and accordingly, when the Lords voted his commitment, he withdrew, and a bill of banishment passed in the House of Lords and was sent down to the Commons. But the Commons were then in that rage against him that though there were further overtures made of degrading him from his honours as well as banishing him, and of providing an act that no pardon for the future should be pleaded in bar of an impeachment, the bill for banishment was thrown out, and instead of it a bill of attainder for his wilful absence was brought in, and passed immediately, and sent to the Lords for their concurrence. But when it came to the third reading Lord Danby surrendered, was sent to the Tower, and not long after moved for his trial.

The King was weary of this vexation, and willing to be easy himself and make others easy if he could, and, to satisfy the people, was resolved upon great alterations in his ministry. The Treasury he put in commission, and the Earl of Essex was at the head of it. The Earl of Sunderland was made Secretary of State. The whole Council, which was made up of Lord Danby's creatures, was dismissed. Lord Shaftesbury was made President of the new Council, and the chief of both Houses members of it. The Admiralty and Ordnance were taken from the Duke's friends and put in commission; and what was as grateful a change as any, those sad tools of judges that Lord Danby had brought upon the bench were dismissed, and men of worth and learning promoted to those important posts.

But after all these alterations there was one thing wanting to satisfy the people's minds, viz., what security the King might offer to quiet the fears of the nation upon the account of the Duke's succession; for all concluded that it was dangerous to have a Papist sit upon the throne. The Earl of Shaftesbury, at the head of his party (for the Council was divided upon the question), proposed an absolute exclusion, and making the succession go on as if he were dead; but this was thought destructive to the constitution of an hereditary monarchy. The Earls of Essex and Halifax proposed, on the other hand, such limitations of the Duke's authority, when the crown should devolve upon him, as would disable him from doing any harm either in Church or State. But this by the other side, who were more in number, was called an institution of democracy; and so a bill was ordered for excluding the Duke of York from a succession to the crowns of these realms.

Those who argued for the exclusion seemed to maintain that it was as much in the power of the King and Parliament, who had the whole authority of the nation in their possession, to exclude the next heir, as it was for a father to disinherit his son; that the Holy Scripture had made no provision for the next in blood to succeed in kingdoms, but was pregnant with various examples to the contrary; that in different kingdoms different forms of succession were in use; that in our own there were several instances of exclusion; and that the power of the Parliament in this respect was according to law, and founded on an act in Queen Elizabeth's time to limit the succession of the crown. They argued that Government was appointed for those who were to be governed, and not for governors themselves; and therefore all things that related to it were to be measured by the people's safety and the public interest; but then that the Popish religion was so contrary to the public good, so repugnant to the very frame and constitution of our Government, that a Papist seemed to be brought under a disability either to protect a Protestant people, or to preserve the dignity of his crown; and that the Duke in particular was so bigoted to that religion, and had given such proofs of a violent temper, that when he once came to the throne it was much to be feared all limitations would be broken through.

Those who stood up for the limitation seemed to assert that an exclusion was unlawful in itself, and contrary to the fundamental maxims of our constitution; that the oath of allegiance bound us to the King and his heirs, and that his heirs were the persons then apparent; that changes in the succession, which were but the result of prosperous rebellions, were but a bad precedent; and the act of Queen Elizabeth, which was designed for the exclusion of Mary Queen of Scots, ended too fatally, and was too great a blemish in her reign, to be insisted on with decency. They urged that though a man might disinherit his son, yet it was always presumed upon a just reason; but to cut a person off from so great a possession as a crown, merely for his opinion, was a severity that Protestants disavowed and complained of in others. The nation, they said, ought to be secured against the ill effects of that opinion, but a limitation of the King's power would answer all that; whereas a total exclusion, besides the reflection it brought upon the King's honour, might provoke other princes to assist the Duke in the recovery of his right, might stir up many in England to espouse his cause, might encourage the Scotch, in hopes of his future favour, to assert his title, and so kindle a war round about us, as well as raise distractions at home.

These were the chief arguments upon which the debate was managed; and all the progress that was made in the matter this Parliament was that the bill was twice read in the House of Commons, and the Parliament after that dissolved. But before their dissolution the Earl of Danby appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and by the advice of Pollexfen, a very learned but perplexed lawyer, made use of no other plea but the King's pardon, to which the Commons put in a reply, importing that as in the case of murder an appeal lay from which the King's pardon did not cover the person, so the offences of ministers of State being injuries done to the public, the King's pardon could not hinder a prosecution in Parliament, which seemed to be one of the chief securities of our constitution. If it could, then might evil ministers act as boldly as they pleased, since they knew so easy a way to be secured against the danger of impeachments.

This was the substance of their reply, whereupon they demanded a trial and judgment; and then arose a famous debate, viz., whether bishops had a right of voting in any part of a trial for treason. It was agreed that they could not vote in the final judgment, but the question was, whether they had not a right to do so in the preliminaries. Those who argued for that right said that bishops were one of the three estates of which the Parliament was composed, and ought, therefore, to have a share in all parliamentary proceedings. In the times of Popery, indeed, they were for withdrawing from the King's Court and forming themselves into a state apart; but when our kings would not admit of that, they obtained leave to withdraw in judgments of life and death, as unbecoming their profession. But their very withdrawing showed that they had originally a right to judge in such matters, and that their foregoing that right was a voluntary act which the Crown was willing to indulge them in, and not any restraint laid upon them; that the very form of their desiring leave to withdraw implied the voluntariness of it; and the words of the Article of Clarendon[1] were certainly construable in this sense, viz., that they might sit during the trial till it came to the final sentence, and by consequence might vote in all preliminaries.

On the other hand, it was argued that on the preliminaries the final sentence sometimes depended—as it did in the present case—and therefore voting in one was in effect voting in the other; that bishops could not judge the temporal lords as their peers, for since their honour was not hereditary, they could not be the peers of those whose blood was dignified; and therefore, though they were a part of the House in relation to the legislature, yet they had no right to be of it when a temporal lord came to be tried for high treason. The custom of Parliament, in short, they said, was the law of Parliament, and since they had never judged in these cases before, they had no pretence to claim such a privilege now.

Thus the point was argued on both sides; and Dr. Stillingfleet upon this occasion gave a learned proof of his great abilities in any argument; for he published a treatise on this subject, whereby he put an end to the controversy in the opinion of all impartial men, and proved, beyond all contradiction, that bishops had a right to vote in those preliminaries both from our records and constitution. The bishops' right to vote was carried by a majority, and upon that the Commons refused to proceed unless the bishops were made to withdraw the whole trial; and when matters came to this issue the Parliament was first prorogued, and then dissolved.

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[1] Constitutions of Clarendon, January 25th, 1164, passed to retrench the power of the clergy.

This raised a great clamour against the bishops, and hot people began everywhere to censure them as a set of men who, for their own ends and any punctilio they pretended to, would expose the nation and the Protestant religion to ruin. In revenge for this, many began to declare openly in favour of the Nonconformists; and the Nonconformists, upon such encouragement, became too insolent. The act that had restrained the press was now expired, so that many virulent pamphlets both against the Court and clergy were published, wherein the Nonconformists had so great a hand that they provoked the other party to write with the like vehemence against them. The chief manager of these paper wars was Sir Roger L'Estrange, a man who had lived in all the late times, and was furnished with many passages and an inexhaustible copiousness of writing. He for four years published three or four sheets a week, under the title of the "Observator," all tending to defame the Dissenters, and to raise in the clergy a vain apprehension of the approaching ruin of the Church; and the clergy, being thus sharpened and furnished by these papers, delivered themselves up to much heat and indiscretion both in the pulpit and private conversation. The fears of Popery were changed into the apprehensions of a rebellion. The year forty-one, wherein the wars broke out, was a common topic among them; and, instead of defending the principles of the Protestant religion, they seemed to be so busy in nothing as in drawing parallels between the late times and theirs. This raised much censure and hatred, though the lives and labours of many worthy and eminent men[1] among them did in a great measure rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it.

When the Parliament was up, the courts of justice went on in their proceedings against the prisoners, and five of the Jesuits who were accused before, viz., Whitebread, Fenwick, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, were brought to their trial. Oates repeated his former evidence against them; and they, in their defence, brought over sixteen persons from their house at St. Omer's, who testified that Oates stayed among them all the while from December, 1677, till June, 1678; that he sat at

[1] Such were Tenison, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Calamy, Claget, Cudworth, the two Mores, Williams, and many others.

a table by himself in the refectory, and was therefore more observable; and that they saw him every day except one or two that he was in the infirmary; and thereupon they inferred that he could not possibly be in London in the April between, wherein he had sworn those consultations for killing the King were held. But in opposition to this Oates had found out seven or eight persons who deposed that they saw him in England about the beginning of May; and an old Dominican, who was still of that Church and order, swore also that he saw him and spoke frequently with him about that time. This quite blasted the credit of the St. Omer's scholars, and gave more sanction to what Dugdale and Bedloe swore against the Jesuits, so that the jury was soon determined in the verdict, and condemned them; but at their execution they did, with the greatest solemnity and the deepest imprecations possible, deny the whole evidence upon which they suffered, protesting that they held no opinions either of the lawfulness of assassinating princes, or of the Pope's power to depose them, and that they accounted all equivocation and lying for a good cause odious and sinful.

Langhorne the lawyer was tried next, and to invalidate Oates's deposition he made use of the St. Omer's scholars, but to no purpose, for their testimony was blasted before. He insisted on some contradictions in Oates's evidence at several trials. He urged the reasonableness of his being seized and searched at first, had such commissions been lodged with him as was pretended, whereas he was let alone, and not so much as named till six weeks after the first discovery. And in answer to what Bedloe swore, viz., that he saw him enter some of Coleman's treasonable letters (wherein mention was made of killing the King) in a register, he showed the improbability for a man of his great compass of business to be set to register letters. But all this was of no use to him. He was cast; and though great pains were taken to persuade him to disclose what he knew of the plot, and his execution upon that account was delayed for some weeks, yet he protested he had no discovery of that kind to make, and persisted in this to his death. He died with great constancy of mind, and spent the time in which his execution was respited in writing some devout and well-composed meditations; for he was in all respects a very extraordinary man, learned and honest in his profession, but out of measure bigoted in his religion.

Gavan, the Jesuit, had protested, at his late execution, that he never thought it lawful to murder kings, upon which one Serjeant, a secular priest, who was always at enmity with the Jesuits, but a very zealous Papist in his own way, appeared before the Council upon security given, and averred that the last time Gavan was in Flanders he said to a very devout man, from whom Serjeant had it, that he thought the Queen might lawfully take away the King's life for the injuries he had done her, but much more because he was a heretic. But this being a testimony only at second hand, it was not much considered; and in truth the building so much and shedding so much blood upon what was the weakest part of the plot, the credit of the witnesses, raised a general prejudice against it all, and took away the force of what was incontestably true, viz., that the whole party was contriving a change in religion, and trying to effect it by foreign aid.

Wakeman, the Queen's physician, came next upon his trial. Oates swore to his hand from a bill he saw him once write to Ashby the Jesuit, then going to Bath, and wherein he advised him to pump and make use of milk diet; and he swore likewise that he saw at another time a letter written by the same hand, wherein he made mention of his zeal in the design of killing the King. Bedloe deposed that he saw him receive a bill of £2,000 from Harcourt, in part of a greater sum, and he heard Harcourt tell him for what use and purpose it was given him. Against Oates's evidence Wakeman proved that at first he only accused him upon hearsay, and did solemnly protest that he knew nothing personally against him, that the note which he mentioned was not written by himself, but by his servant, and that the pretended prescription of a milk diet was a plain indication of a gross forgery, since nothing was so inconsistent with Bath water as milk; and against what Bedloe averred he showed the great improbability of trusting himself in such matters to such a person.

Three Benedictine priests were tried at the same time with Wakeman, against whom Oates deposed that they were all in the plot for killing the King, and that one of them, being their superior, had engaged to give £6,000 towards carrying it on; and Bedloe swore something circumstantial to the same purpose against two of them, but he had nothing to charge the third with. In opposition to this they proved that another person had been their superior for several years; that Oates was never suffered to come within their house; that the night before he made his discovery, when he took Pickering out of his bed, he protested he had nothing to allege against them, with many more things of the like nature, to destroy the truth of what was attested; so that when Scroggs came to sum up the evidence, he, contrary to his former practice, did it very favourably for the prisoners, and they were thereupon acquitted, to the great discredit and mortification of the witnesses.

But it is time now to look back to Scotland. The party that opposed Duke Lauderdale began to take heart upon this great turn in England, were encouraged by the ministry to bring an accusation against him, and had a solemn hearing upon it. Mackenzie, the King's advocate, was sent for to defend the administration, and Lockhart and Cunningham were to argue against it. The latter had not Lockhart's quickness and talent of speaking, but he was a learned and judicious man, and had the most general, and, indeed, the most deserved reputation for integrity and virtue of any man, not only of his own profession, but of the whole nation. They made out beyond the possibility of an answer many sore grievances in the administration, and particularly that commissions given to an army to live on free quarter in a time of peace was against the whole constitution as well as express laws of the kingdom. But this did not move the King, nor change his sentiments of Lord Lauderdale, though the very notion of calling the King's Commissioner to an account was a triumph to his adversaries, and set the people who ran about with the field conventicles, and had found the weight of his indignation, into a kind of frenzy.

As the Archbishop of St. Andrews was going home from the Council one day, and had sent his servants some one way and some another, so that there were no horsemen about the coach, a party of these furious men came upon him, and because they found him unattended, they, in their mad enthusiastic notions, concluded that God now had delivered their greatest enemy into their hand, whereupon seven of them rode up to the coach, one firing a pistol at him, which burnt his gown, but did not go into his body. They fancied that he had some magical secret to secure him against shot, and so, dragging him out of his coach, and with many repeated stabs, murdered him barbarously. This was the dismal end of that unhappy man. It struck terror into all people, and softened his enemies into some tenderness and commiseration; so that those who had no respect for him during his life were concerned for his end, and treated his memory with decency ever after.

But their fury did not end here, for about a week after this there was a great field conventicle held within ten miles of Glasgow, where a body of the guards that was sent to disperse them was repulsed, and, with the loss of thirty of their number, forced to retire. The people, flushed with this success, marched directly to Glasgow, where their numbers were so magnified that a company or two of the King's forces quitted the place at their approach, and the Earl of Linlithgow, who was sent with a thousand foot, two hundred horse, and two hundred dragoons against them (upon intelligence that they were now above eight thousand strong), retired, as not daring to venture the King's forces upon such an inequality; but this he was rather thought to do at Lord Lauderdale's instigation, on purpose to give the rebels time to increase to such a number, and to proceed to such a pitch of madness, as might justify the violences of his administration. This certainly was the effect of his retreat—that the rebels, now seeing themselves become formidable, and the country left to their discretion, began to fancy that their numbers would increase apace, and therefore published a sort of manifesto, wherein they complained of the oppressions they lay under, asserted the obligation of the Covenant, and concluded with a demand of a free Parliament.

After such an affront as this the King was resolved to lose no time, but sent down the Duke of Monmouth post, with full powers to command in chief, and directions to some troops that lay in the north of England to march upon his orders; and positive instructions were sent down after him not to treat with the rebels, but fall on them immediately. Upon the Duke's approach, they sent some of their people to treat with him, but his answer was that he had no such commission, only if they would lay down their arms, and cast themselves upon the King's mercy, he would endeavour to interpose for their pardon. But such was their infatuation that they had neither grace to submit nor courage to fight. The bridge[1] that was over the Clyde was a pass that every one believed they intended to dispute, but instead of that they stood looking on, like men who had lost their senses, till the Duke made himself master of it, and upon the first charge threw down their arms and ran away. The Duke stopped the execution his men were making as soon as he could, which was afterwards objected to him as a violation of the King's injunction. But he could not, he said, kill men in cold blood; that was the work of a butcher, as the action, indeed, was bloody enough, for there were between two and three hundred men killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners.

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[1] Called Bothwell Bridge, not far from Hamilton, where the rebels fixed, and from whence the action had its denomination.

The Duke came to Court as soon as he had settled matters, sent home the militia, put the troops under discipline, and restored tranquillity in the country; and he then moved the King to grant an Act of Indemnity for what was past, and a liberty to hold meetings[1] by licence or connivance for the future. But the Act of Indemnity was so drawn up that it least of all favoured those for whom it was principally intended. All preachers, gentlemen, and officers were excepted out of it, so that two of their chief preachers were hanged, to deter others. Two hundred of the prisoners were sent to Virginia, but cast away at sea; the rest were let go upon signing a bond to keep the peace; and in this manner that wild and tumultuary rebellion ended.

Not long after this the King was taken ill at Windsor of an intermittent fever, and the fits were so long and so severe that the physicians began to apprehend there was some danger. This made him order the Duke to be sent for, but with great secrecy. The danger, however, was over before the Duke arrived, and when the King enjoined him to return again, he refused not to comply, on this condition—that the Duke of Monmouth, whom he had reason to suspect of ambitious views, should be put out of all command, and equally ordered to go beyond sea. And the Duke of Monmouth's friends advised him to comply with this, as a sure way to raise his interest in the nation, for that the Parliament, they said, would without doubt address the King for his recall upon their first meeting. But, to prevent this, the Duke of York had prevailed with the King not to call a Parliament that winter, in hopes that the heat of the nation would, by the help of time, grow cooler, and the party that now began to declare for the right of succession gain strength. Thus both the Dukes were sent abroad, and so that enmity, which before was hid in complaisance and court civility, broke out openly, and appeared without disguise.

The party that began to be made for the Duke of York were now endeavouring to foment jealousies everywhere. They pretended, and sent advertisements thereof to the chief of the ministry, that on a day when the Common Hall was to meet in the City a design was laid to seize on the Tower and do all such violences as attend a popular fury; but that day passed without disturbance, or the least appearance of any other design besides the business for which the Hall was summoned. And now a whisper ran about that an extraordinary thing would quickly break out, which would carry off the plot from the Papists, and cast it upon the contrary party. For one Dangerfield, a subtle and dangerous man, who had gone through all the shapes and practices of roguery, and in particular was a false coiner, undertook now to coin a plot for the benefit of the Papists. He was in gaol for debt, and in an ill intrigue with one Cellier, a Popish midwife, a woman of wit, but abandoned to lewdness, who took him out of prison and carried him to the Countess of Powys, with whom it was concluded that he should engage others with himself to swear that commissions had been offered them to assist in the subversion of the Government, which was to be totally changed, and the King and royal family sent away.

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[1] Meetings were, by the King's order, opened for awhile; but upon the Duke of Monmouth's disgrace that order was recalled, and they were immediately shut up again.

To countenance this fiction, he had placed in a dark corner of one Colonel Mansel's room a bundle of seditious but ill-contrived letters, which was afterwards found by some searchers sent from the Custom House, pretending to look for forbidden goods. But the letters, upon examination, were so palpably counterfeit, that inquiry was made into the forgery; and at one of Dangerfield's haunts a paper was found in a meal-tub (which thence gave a name to the plot) containing a scheme of the whole contrivance, which Dangerfield upon his commitment made a full confession of. The Earls of Essex and Halifax were set down among others to be sworn against, and upon this they pressed the King with much vehemence to call a Parliament immediately. But he refusing to do that, for fear that men's minds should be exasperated by this new discovery, Lord Essex left the Treasury, and Lord Halifax soon after fell into such a melancholy and dejection of spirit, that, though he was offered to be made Secretary of State, he refused it, and withdrew for some time from public business.

Upon the Duke of Monmouth's removal beyond sea, the nobility in Scotland were apprehensive that Lord Lauderdale would be continued in his posts, and act over again his former extravagances, and therefore they got it moved to the King that it would be more honourable and more for the Duke of

York's interest to live in Scotland than to live abroad, for they thought that this would put a stop to Lord Lauderdale's coming down, as well as give the Duke a handsome opportunity of making himself acceptable to the nation. The motion pleased the King, and the Duke was appointed to come over and meet him at Newmarket in October; which when Lord Shaftesbury knew, he called a Council at Whitehall, and laid before them the danger the King was in by having the Duke so near him, and pressed them to represent this to him. But they did not agree to do it, and he, when the King came home, was turned out, and Lord Roberts, then made Earl of Radnor, a morose man, but severely just, and as wise as his cynical humour could allow him to be, was made Lord President in his stead.

The Duke went to Scotland soon after, and upon that the Duke of Monmouth grew impatient, and begged the King's leave to return; but when he saw no hope of obtaining it, he came over without leave, and gave himself fatally up to Lord Shaftesbury's conduct, who encouraged him to disobey the King requiring him to go back again, and to run into all the methods imaginable to make himself popular. For it was by his instigation that he went round many parts of England, under the pretence of hunting and horse-matches, to show himself to the people; and by his procurement that petitions for a Parliament were set on foot, in order to secure the King's person and the Protestant religion, all which was bad policy. It showed the weakness of the party, and made many well-meaning men suspect that an alteration in government was really intended, especially when a proclamation was published against them, and counter-petitions were promoted by the Court, and signed by much greater numbers, expressing an abhorrence of all seditious practices, and referring the time of calling a Parliament wholly to the King.

The worst effect of these movements against the King was, that they obliged him to declare in favour of the Duke, and fixed his resolutions of passing the winter without a Parliament, which made some of the new councillors[1] request to be excused from their attendance in Council, and several who had been put in the Admiralty and other commissions desire to be dismissed, by which means the whole weight of the administration fell upon the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Hyde, and Lord Godolphin.

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[1] The Lords Russell and Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powel.

The last of these was a younger brother of an ancient family in Cornwall, who had been bred about the King for a page, and was now accounted one of the ablest men in the Court, as he was the most modest and silent man that perhaps was ever bred in one. He had a clear apprehension, and dispatched business with great temper and method. But for a man of business he was a great gamester, only he gave this reason for it—that it delivered him from the obligation of talking much. His notions were for the Court, but his true principles of religion and virtue, his behaviour free from pride and vanity, his contempt of wealth, and incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the Treasury, created in all people a very high esteem of him, and entitled him to the confidence of four succeeding princes.

There was in this year at midsummer a new practice begun in the City that produced very ill consequences. The shrievalty of London and Middlesex is, by its charter, in the City; and when the day of election came, the common method was for the Lord Mayor to name one of the sheriffs by drinking to him on a public occasion, which nomination was first confirmed by the Common Hall, and then they proceeded to the choice of another. The office of a sheriff was very expensive. Men usually in that post lived up to the rate of £5,000 a year, so that the City's first care was to find out men who would bear the charge of it without compounding the matter (as the custom was) for £400 fine. All juries were returned by the sheriffs, but that was commonly left to their under-sheriffs, who were generally attorneys, and might be brought under the management of the Court. So now it was thought proper that the sheriffs should be chosen with a little more care, and not so much to keep good tables as return good juries. The person whom the Mayor drank to was set aside, and Bethel and Cornish were chosen sheriffs for the ensuing year, both Independents and Republicans in principle, and Bethel particularly obnoxious for some indecent expressions he was said to make use of, approving the late King's death. So that the Court looked on this with a jealous eye, as done on design to pack juries, in order to screen the party in all prosecutions, and to debar the King in all his pretensions from common justice.

The Duke came to England in the spring, and continued about the King till near the winter, when he returned into Scotland again, and the Parliament sat, and went once more upon the Bill of Exclusion. Lord Russell moved it first in the House of Commons, and was seconded by several of the most eminent speakers. The chief manager for the Court was Jenkins, now made Secretary of State in Coventry's place. He was a man of exemplary life, and considerably learned, but dull and slow; unjustly suspected of an inclination to Popery, though exact in every punctilio of the Church of England even to superstition; a friend to the prerogative, and a great assertor of the Divine right of monarchy; so that his speeches and arguments against the exclusion were heard with indignation, and a bill was brought in and passed the House, and carried up to the Lords for their concurrence. The Earls of Shaftesbury and Essex argued most for it, and the Earl of Halifax was the champion on the other side. He gained great honour in the debate, and in the opinion of the whole House had a manifest superiority over Lord Shaftesbury, which to him was triumph enough, though he enraged the House of Commons by it to that degree that they voted an address to the King to remove him from his councils and presence for ever, on pretence that he had advised the dissolution of the last Parliament, but in reality because he had destroyed their bill.

The King of France, since his successes in the Netherlands, had set up a Court at Metz, in which many princes, under the pretence of dependencies and other old titles, were judged to belong to the new French conquest. Hereupon the Prince of Orange projected an alliance against France: most of the German princes were ready to come into it, and the King pretended a disposition to do the same as soon as matters could be well adjusted at home. And to that purpose he sent many messages to the House of Commons, pressing for a supply both for the relief of Tangier, then in danger from the King of Fez, and for enabling him to enter into alliances necessary for the common preservation. But, instead of an answer, the House returned him a long representation of the danger that both he and they were in, with assurances to do everything for him that he could desire as soon as they were sufficiently secured. They then went on to renew their addresses against the Earl of Halifax, and to request the dismission of several other lords from his service, as persons inclined to Popery. They impeached some judges for illegal charges and judgments, and Seymour for corruption and maladministration in the treasury of the navy. They impeached Scroggs for high treason;

but what was alleged against him amounting to no more than misdemeanours, the Lords rejected the impeachment. They asserted the people's right to petition for a Parliament, and, because some in their counter-petitions had expressed an abhorrence of this practice, they voted all such abhorrers betrayers of the liberties of the nation. They voted all anticipations on the public revenue contrary to law, and that whosoever lent his money on the credit of these anticipations was a public enemy to the kingdom; and proceeded at last to an association, in imitation of that in Queen Elizabeth's time, for revenging the King's death upon all Papists, if he should happen to be killed. But all these were the extravagances of resentment and high indignation, and not so consistent with the prudence of a legislature.

After the rejection of the Bill of Exclusion, Lord Halifax pressed the House to go on to limitations; but the Duke's friends abhorred the motion, and Lord Shaftesbury's party laughed at it; and when it was proposed in the House to enter into an association to maintain such expedients as should be thought proper, and have some cautionary towns put into the hands of the associators during the King's life, to make them good after his death, this was thought too dangerous an invasion of the prerogative to be insisted on, and gave the King umbrage to think that he himself was levelled at chiefly, though for decency's sake his brother was only named.

The Duchess of Portsmouth acted a very odd part all this while, but the reason of her acting so was not so visible. She went in heartily with the Commons as to the matter of exclusion, and promised her best endeavours to induce the King to a compliance; and for this service it was proposed that, if she could bring the King to that, and to some other popular things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a bill for securing his person, and for empowering him to declare his successor to the crown, as had been done in Henry VIII.'s time; that she consequently, having such an ascendant over his affections, might probably induce him to declare her son his successor. And the thing was once carried so far, that for £800,000, which was afterwards brought down to £600,000, the King consented to it; but the Parliament and he were so diffident of each other, that they would not part with the money till he had passed the act, nor would he pass the act till they had given him the money. The King, however, reconciled the Duke to the Duchess of Portsmouth's conduct in all this by pretending that she did it by his order, to sift into the designs of the party and to defeat the limitations, which the Duke dreaded, by pretending a zeal for the exclusion, which the King was resolved should never pass.

The other great business of this Parliament was the trial of the Viscount Stafford, younger son of the old Earl of Arundel, and uncle to the Duke of Norfolk, a weak but fair-conditioned man, and who in his younger days had run into great vices, that had almost proved fatal to him. He was on ill terms with his nephew's family, not gracious with the King, and of small consideration with the Duke; so that his fall may be ascribed not so much to his guilt as his want of friends to support him. His trial was pompous; it continued for five days, and the Earl of Nottingham was High Steward. On the first day the Commons brought only general evidence to prove the reality of the plot, to which he said not much, only he mentioned the solemn protestations of innocence wherewith all the prisoners hitherto had died, and his own sentiments concerning the illegality of the Pope's power to depose princes.

On the second day they brought in their evidence to prove him guilty. Bedloe died the summer before at Bristol, but it being then the time of assizes, he sent for North, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and confirmed upon oath all that he had sworn formerly, except what related to the Queen and the Duke, which retraction had an appearance of sincerity, and made his confirmation have more weight. Oates deposed that Lord Stafford had a patent to be paymaster-general to the army; Dugdale swore that he had offered him £500 to kill the King; and Turberville in like manner deposed that he had begun the same proposition to him in Paris in '75, had taken much pains to persuade him to it, and had sent him over to England by way of Dieppe, himself intending to come that way, but afterwards sent word that he was to go by Calais.

On the third day he brought his evidence to discredit the witnesses. Oates, he said, had acknowledged that he had gone in among them on purpose to betray them; so that he had been for some years taking oaths and receiving sacraments in so treacherous a manner, that no credit could be given to a man who was so black by his own confession. Dugdale he proved had never been in his chamber but once, while he was at Lord Aston's, and that on all times he had sworn to he was not at Lord Aston's, but either at Bath or Badminton. And whereas Turberville had said he was then in a fit of the gout when he made him the above proposition, he proved that he never had a fit of the gout in his life; that he did not intend to come by Dieppe, but had sent for a yacht to meet him at Calais; that since his coming to England Turberville had never once been with him, but was often heard to say that he was minded to turn evidence, because he saw nobody live so well as they.

On the fourth day proofs were brought in to support the evidence, and it was made appear that Dugdale had served the Lord Aston long and with great reputation, that he had been very frequently in Lord Stafford's company, that the news about Godfrey's death was what he had reported, and that one of the witnesses brought against him was, to Lord Stafford's knowledge, scandalous in all respects. Turberville described both the room and street in Paris wherein he saw Lord Stafford; he produced a witness who saw him at Dieppe, and heard him complain of a certain lord who had disappointed him, and proved by several that Lord Stafford was often lame, which he might reasonably enough mistake for the gout.

On the fifth day Stafford resumed all his evidence, and urged every particular very strongly. Jones, in the name of the Commons, did the same against him with great force; and though he thought it convenient to drop Oates, because the objection against him was unanswerable, yet he made it very clear that Dugdale and Turberville were two good witnesses, not at all discredited by anything that was brought against them. When it came to the vote, above fifty of the peers, among whom were four Howards, his kinsmen, condemned him, and above thirty acquitted him. His behaviour during the whole trial and at the receiving his sentence was with more constancy than was expected from him. He supped and slept all the night before his execution, and when he came to die he had no signs of fear or disorder upon him, but went out of life very composedly, denying to the last all that the witnesses had sworn against him.

Lord Stafford's death put a period to all further prosecution of the plot; and not long after, when the King saw there was no hope of prevailing with the Commons without granting the exclusion, he first prorogued and then dissolved the Parliament. But the morning before their prorogation two votes were carried in the House of Commons of a very extraordinary nature. The one was, "That the laws made against recusants ought not to be executed against any but those of the Church of Rome;" and the other, "That it was the opinion of the

House that the laws against Dissenters ought not to be put in execution." This was thought so great an invasion of the legislature, when one House pretended to suspend the execution of laws and to dictate to courts and juries how they were to proceed, that instead of being a kindness to the Nonconformists, it raised a new storm against them all over the nation.

The King was resolved to try a Parliament once more, and because he imagined that they were encouraged, if not inflamed, by the City of London, he summoned the next to meet at Oxford. Elections, however, went generally in the country for the members who had served before, and in some places it was given as an instruction not to recede from the Bill of Exclusion.

The press in the meantime was very licentious, and though several printers were indicted for scandalous libels upon the Government, yet the grand juries were so packed that they always returned an *Ignoramus* upon the bills against them.

One Fitzharris, an Irish Papist, was taken up, a little before the Oxford Parliament met, for framing a malicious and treasonable libel against the King and his whole family. Cornish the sheriff went to see him, and because he desired to have a justice brought to him (for he pretended to make a discovery of the plot far beyond all that was yet known), Cornish acquainted the King with it, and the King sent the two secretaries, with some Privy Councillors, to take his examination, which consisted of a long relation of a practice to kill the King, wherein the Duke was concerned, with many more particulars needless to be mentioned, because they were all fictions. He still persisted in his desire to have some justice of the City brought to him, so Clayton and Treby went, and to them he made the same pretended discovery; but seeming in this to distrust the King's ministers, he was soon removed to the Tower, which the Court resolved to make the prison for all offenders till sheriffs could be chosen more agreeable to the King's mind.

In March the King opened the Parliament at Oxford with some severe reflections on their former proceedings. He was resolved, he said, to maintain the succession of the crown in the right line, but for quieting his people's fears he was willing to put the administration of the Government into Protestant hands, which was generally understood of a prince regent, with whom the regal prerogative was to be lodged during the Duke's life. The expedient was debated for some time, but it being thought contrary to law to separate the prerogative from the person of the King, and introductive of a civil war to set up two rival powers in one nation, the proposition was rejected, to the joy of the Duke's party, who dreaded this expedient most of all, and a resolution was taken to go again to the Bill of Exclusion. The Commons resolved likewise to take the management of Fitzharris's affair out of the hands of the Court. They therefore carried an impeachment to the bar of the House of Lords against him, and upon its being rejected, passed a furious vote that justice was denied them by the Lords, and that all those who concurred in trying Fitzharris in any other court were betrayers of the liberties of their country.

By these steps the King foresaw what might be expected from them, and therefore coming to the House of Lords, he put on his robes in haste, and calling up the Commons, he dissolved the Parliament without any previous notice, and departed instantly to Windsor.

Soon after this the King published a Declaration for the satisfaction of his people, in which he reckoned all the hard things that had been done by the last three Parliaments, and set out their undutiful behaviour in many instances; yet in conclusion he assured his good subjects that nothing should ever alter his affection to the Protestant religion, as established by law, nor his love to Parliaments; and when this Declaration passed in Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury moved that an order might be added to it, requiring the clergy to publish it in all the churches of England. The Declaration was answered with spirit and judgment enough in a paper penned by Sidney, revised by Somers, and corrected by Jones; but it had no great effect, whereas the Declaration raised over England a humour of making addresses to the King, as it were in answer to it. The grand juries and bench of justices, the cities and boroughs, the franchises and corporations, many manors and companies in towns, and at last the very apprentices, sent up addresses, some in a modest strain, expressing their joy at the assurances they saw in the King's Declaration, and dedicating thereupon their lives and fortunes to his service; others in a higher tone, arraigning the late Parliament as guilty of sedition and treason, reflecting severely on the Nonconformists, and desiring the laws to be put in execution against them; but the greater number, and the most acceptable, were such as declared they would adhere to the succession of the crown in the lineal descent, and condemned the exclusion with some bitterness. These addresses were high panegyrics upon the King's person and government. Those who brought them up were usually knighted and well treated at Court. Many zealous healths were drunk among them, and in their cups the old valour and swaggerings of the Cavaliers seemed to be revived again.

The clergy on this occasion carried matters higher still. They cried up the Duke's succession, as if a Popish king had been a special blessing of Providence, and gave themselves a loose against Nonconformists, as if there were no other danger but from that quarter. The apprehensions of Popery were quite forgotten in their sermons, and the whole bent of their zeal turned against Dissenters, who were now to be proceeded against according to law; and to promote this, pamphlets of all sorts were sent into the country to expose them and decry the late Parliament, commissions of all kinds were everywhere altered, nor was there one left on the bench or in the militia who did not come heartily into the measures of the Court.

At this time the encouragement given in England to good swearers brought over some lewd Irish priests, and others of that nation, who thought themselves well qualified for that employment. Plunkett, the Popish Primate of Armagh, a wise and sober man, and who was for living quietly and in due submission to the Government, without engaging in the intrigues of State, had censured some of these priests for their viciousness, and they drew in others to swear that there was a plot in Ireland to bring over the French and massacre all the English, and that Plunkett had a great bank of money prepared, and an army listed to assist in the design. He had nothing to say in his own defence but to deny all, so that he was condemned, and suffered very decently, expressing himself in many particulars as became a bishop, and denying everything that had been sworn against him with his last breath.

Scroggs was at this time turned out, and Pemberton made Chief Justice. In his youth he had mixed with such lewd company that he quickly spent all he had, and ran so deep in debt that he was cast into prison, where he lay many years; but he followed his studies so closely there, that he became one of the most able men of his profession. He had been a judge before, but turned out by Scroggs's means, and being not entirely compliant, was turned out a second time, when the Court would be served by none but men of thorough-paced obsequiousness. When Fitzharris came before him, he pleaded the impeachment in Parliament, but that being overruled, the proof against him was so full that he was cast. When he saw no hopes, he said that Lord Howard, with whom he had some familiarity, was the author of the libel for which he was condemned; but the paper was so ill penned, and so little disguised in the treasonable part, that it appeared plainly the work of a much meaner hand. Lord Howard, however, was committed upon it, but when the bill against him was brought to the grand jury, Fitzharris's wife and maid, who were the evidence, so grossly forswore themselves, that the Attorney-General thought fit to withdraw it, and Fitzharris, when he came to die, disavowed all his former discovery, and laid it on the sheriffs and two justices as a subornation of theirs, though it was manifestly impossible for that to be true.

Not long after this, Dugdale, Turberville, Smith, and the Irish witnesses came under another management, and discovered a plot to be executed at Oxford, wherein the King was to be killed and the Government changed. One College, a joiner by trade, an active and hot man, and who came to be known by the name of the Protestant Joiner, was apprehended on this account. He had spoken often with great indecency of the King, and in his manner threatened that they would make him pass the Bill of Exclusion; but his design of seizing on the King was so notorious a falsehood that the grand jury returned *Ignoramus*. The witnesses, however, deposed that he went down to Oxford upon that design, and so he was carried thither to be tried. The evidences swore positively against him. College endeavoured to show how little credit was due to their testimony; but that would not do, so he was condemned, and suffered with great constancy and appearance of devotion, denying his knowledge of any plot, and protesting his innocence of any ill design against the King, though the heat of his temper might have carried him oftentimes into some undutiful expressions against him.

In attempting to invalidate Dugdale's credit, College objected to him that when by his lewdness he had become diseased, he, to cover that, gave it out that he was poisoned by the Papists; upon which he protested solemnly he never had become diseased, and that if it could be proved against him he was content all the evidence he had ever given should be discredited for ever. And he was taken at his word; for Dr. Lower, then the most noted physician in London, proved, both by his bills and by the apothecary who served him, that he had been under his hands for the cure of that disease; and so he never appeared as an evidence any more.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, who had been a very busy man, and drove on with great fury in the prosecution of the former plot, was now committed and sent to the Tower upon the evidence of Turberville and the Irish witnesses. His papers were at the same time seized, but there was nothing material found among them except a draft of an association, by which the King, if it had taken place, would have reigned only at the discretion of the party, but it was neither written nor marked in any place with his own hand, nor was there any witness but one to attest its being found upon him; so that when an indictment was presented to the grand jury against him, though the witnesses swore many strange things, mixed with other matters that looked like his extravagant way of talking, and though the copy of the association was brought in confirmation of his treason, yet the jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill, which enraged the Court highly. And upon this a new set of addresses went round the kingdom, expressing an abhorrence of associations, and complaining that justice was denied the King; whereupon a dispute arose, What sort of evidence, whether real and true, or only slight and probable, was sufficient to authorise a jury to make their presentments? and Lord Somers upon the argument wrote a very judicious book in the defence of these *Ignoramus* juries.

In a few days after Lord Shaftesbury's trial Turberville was taken with the small-pox, and the symptoms were so bad upon him that the physician told him he had no hopes of his recovery. Upon this he composed himself to die, and sent for Mr. Hewes, the curate of St. Martin's, a grave and worthy man, to prepare him for it. Hewes charged him to examine himself, and if he had sworn falsely against any man, to confess his sin and glorify God, though it were to his own shame. But he protested, both in his discourse and when he received the sacrament, that he had sworn nothing but the truth in what he had deposed both against Lord Stafford and the Earl of Shaftesbury, and renounced the mercies of God and the benefits of Christ's death if he did not speak the plain and naked truth, without any reservation. His understanding and memory were all along perfect; his sense of another state, and of the account he was to give to God for his past life, real and undissembled; and yet he continued in this mind, and with these declarations in his mouth, to the last. And Tongue, who first brought out Oates, dying about a year before this, protested to all who came to see him that he knew of no subornation in the whole matter, nor was he himself guilty of any; so that what to think in this case we cannot tell. Here are the last words of dying men against the last words of those who suffered; and in this mist of incertitude must matters be left till the great revelation of all secrets. And so we pass on to observe how affairs were managed in Scotland during the great disorders here.

The Duke of York, upon his first coming to Scotland, behaved himself in so obliging a manner that the nobility and gentry, who had been long trodden on by the Duke of Lauderdale and his party, found a sensible alteration. He persuaded the bishops to proceed moderately, he showed in matters of justice an impartial temper, and encouraged all propositions relating to trade; by which means he overcame the prejudices conceived against him, and, considering the aversion that nation had to his religion, made a greater progress in their affections than was expected.

The Duke, being thus universally esteemed for his prudent administration, was advised to hold a Parliament in the summer of 1681, and to take the character of the King's Commissioner upon himself; but, before that time came, a strange spirit of infatuation seized on a company of Presbyterians, who were called Cargillites, from one Cargill, once a minister of Glasgow, and then of no great repute, but now much followed, to the great reproach of the nation.

Their opinion was that the King had forfeited his right by breaking the covenant he had sworn at his coronation; and therefore in a formal declaration they renounced all allegiance to him, and affixed the same to the Cross of Dumfries. The guards fell upon a party of them whom they found in arms, when Cameron, one of their furious teachers (from whom they were also called Cameronians), was killed; but Hackston, who was one of Archbishop Sharp's murderers, and Cargill were taken. Hackston, when brought before the Council, would not own their authority; so he was summarily condemned to have his hands cut off, and then to be hanged. He suffered this with amazing constancy, and seemed to be all the while in an enthusiastic rapture, and insensible of what was done to him; for when his hands were cut off, he asked, like one unconcerned, if his feet were to be cut off too, and when his heart was cut out, notwithstanding his great effusion of blood, it continued for some time to palpitate after it was on the hangman's knife. Cargill and many others of that mad sect suffered with so particular an obstinacy, that though the Duke sent them a pardon on the scaffold if they would only say "God bless the King," yet they refused it with neglect. One of them, a woman, said very calmly she was sure God would never bless him, and therefore she would not take God's name in vain; and another said more sullenly that she would not worship that idol, nor acknowledge any other king but Christ. About fifteen or sixteen died under this delusion, and then the Duke ordered a stop to be put to their prosecution, and the rest to be sent to a house of correction, and put to hard labour, as the only way to settle their distracted brains.

When the time of the sitting of the Parliament came, the first act that passed was for the confirmation of all the laws formerly made against Popery, which seemed a good popular thing to begin with; the second was for the unalterableness of the succession of the crown, which passed without one contradictory vote; the next for an additional revenue for some years to keep up more forces; and another for the regulation of the courts of the Lords of Regalities, and for subjecting them to superior judicatories; but the words of this act were so penned that they devolved all the justice and property of the nation into the King's will and pleasure, and instead of appeals to other courts, made everything end in a personal appeal to him.

While the public business was thus going on, one stood up in Parliament, and accused Lord Halton, Duke Lauderdale's brother, of perjury, because he had sworn at Mitchell's trial that there was no promise of a pardon made him, and yet, according to his own letters to the Earl of Kincardine, there was express mention made of his pardon. The matter was plain upon inspecting the letters, nor was the Duke sorry to have Lord Lauderdale and his brother thus at mercy; but instead of determining the matter in a parliamentary way, he moved that it might be referred to the King, which was readily agreed to, and so no censure was ever put upon that base action. The Lord Bargeny, brother to Duke Hamilton, had been put in prison, as concerned in the rebellion of Bothwell Bridge, and after several appointments for his trial, was at last discharged without having one thing objected to him. He made an inquiry afterwards into the reason of that procedure, and found that Lord Halton and some others had been tampering with some people to turn evidence against him, had prepared them depositions in form, and promised them a large share of the confiscated estates if they went through in the business, but that still, as the day of his trial drew near, these people's hearts misgave them, and so they did not proceed. Lord Bargeny had full proofs of all this ready to be offered, but the Duke prevailed to have this likewise referred to the King, and so it was never heard of, which was no great instance of the Duke's zeal for justice, since, by pretending to refer matters to the King, where he knew they would never be inquired into, he stopped the course of parliamentary proceedings, and gave a shelter and impunity to perjury and subornation.

In the beginning of the Parliament it had been promised that as soon as an act for maintaining the succession was passed, all imaginable security should be given for the Protestant religion, and many zealous men began now to require an execution of that promise; whereupon a test was proposed, "for all that should be capable of any office in Church or State, or of electing or being elected members of Parliament, that they should adhere firmly to the Protestant religion." But then the Court party threw in additional clauses renouncing the Covenant, condemning all resistance under any pretence whatever, and expressing an obligation to defend all the King's rights and prerogatives; to treat of no matter, civil or ecclesiastical, but by his permission; never to endeavour any alteration in the government of Church or State; and to swear all this according to the literal sense of the words. There were several objections against these additions; but the great difficulty was by what definition or standard to fix the signification of so general a term as that of the Protestant religion. And to this Dalrymple proposed the Confession of Faith agreed on in the year 1559, and enacted in Parliament in 1567, as the only confession of faith that had then the sanction of law. That was a book so worn out of use[1] that scarce any in the whole Parliament had ever read it. None of the bishops had, as appeared afterwards, and yet they went blindly into it; and the Duke and his party set it on so earnestly, that upon one day's debate the act passed, and the Parliament of Scotland was soon after dissolved.

As soon as the Test, with the Confession of Faith, was printed, there was a universal murmuring among the best of the clergy.

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[1] The Confession of Faith that was then read in Scotland was that which the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, anno 1648, had set out.

Some were averse to swear to a system of faith made up of so many propositions, and whereof some were at least doubtful; many were offended at the great extent of the prerogative in the point of supremacy; and almost all complained of the unreasonable obligation not to alter anything in a Church that was so manifestly destitute both of liturgy and discipline; so that about eighty of the most pious and learned of their clergy chose to leave all rather than comply with the terms of the Test; and the bishops, who thought their refusal a reproach to those that complied, treated them with great contempt, and put them to the hardship and necessity of seeking their bread in other countries.

The Earl of Argyll was a man of such power in Scotland, that the Duke, when he first came thither, thought it necessary either to gain him or ruin him. He was then of the Privy Council, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; and when he was called upon to take the Test, as his main objection was against that part of it that prohibited any alteration either in Church or State, which he accounted a limitation upon the legislature, he declared that as he did think that the Parliament did not intend an oath which implied contradictions, so he took it, as it was consistent with itself, and with a reserve of not restraining himself thereby from endeavouring to amend anything that was amiss in the Church or State, so far as was consistent with the Protestant religion and the duty of a good subject; and this he took as part of his oath. It passed the Council-table without observation; but when he came to make the same declaration at the Treasury Chamber, and was desired to write it down, which he did, he was immediately sent prisoner to the Castle, and it was pretended that his insinuating contradictions to be in an oath imposed by Parliament, and assuming to himself the liberty of explaining it, and taking it in his own sense, was defaming parliamentary proceedings, taking upon himself a legislative power, and incurring, consequently, the crime of high treason.

When he was brought to his trial, the court that was to judge the point of law (or, as it is called in Scotland, the relevancy of the libel) consisted of a Justice-General, the Justice Clerk, and five Judges; but the Justice-General never votes unless the court is equally divided. One of the judges was deaf, and so very old that he could not sit out the whole trial, and therefore went home and to bed. The other four were equally divided; whereupon they sent for the old one again, who turned it against the Earl of Argyll, and condemned him. Never was sentence so universally cried out on as this. Men spoke of it, and of the Duke that drove it on, with horror, and the only apology made for it was that the Earl of Argyll had such an extensive jurisdiction in the Highlands that it was necessary to attaint him, in order to lay some proper limitations upon it when he came to be restored; but it was never once imagined that the Duke intended to proceed to execution. Things, however, began to put on another appearance; more guards were ordered up to Edinburgh, and rooms were fitted for the Earl in the common gaol, to which peers were removed before their execution, when he happily made his escape out of the castle in disguise, and came and lived for some time concealed in London, till he found it necessary to go beyond sea.

But this was not the only instance of severity during this year's administration. One Home was charged by a kinsman of his own with having been at Bothwell Bridge, and by the Act of Indemnity all gentlemen of estates concerned in that affair were exempted from the benefit of pardon. There was no evidence to prove him there, only one swore that he saw him go into a village and seize on arms. But he proved the contrary, that he was in another place at that time, and manifestly discredited the witness; and yet upon that single evidence, which was proved so infamous, he was convicted, and when intercessions were made for his life, the Duke would not hearken to any.

But another trial went much deeper, and struck terror into the whole country. One Weir of Blakewood was accused of treason for having kept company with a person who had been engaged in the matter of Bothwell Bridge. All the lawyers were of opinion that nothing could be made of this prosecution, and therefore Weir made use of no secret application, as thinking himself in no danger. But when his trial came on, the court fell into a very severe sentence by this odd way of reasoning: they judged that all men who suspected any to have been in the rebellion were bound to discover such their suspicion, and to give no harbour to such persons; that the bare suspicion made it treason to harbour a person suspected, whether he were guilty or not; that if any person was under such suspicion, it was to be presumed that all the neighbourhood knew it; and it being proved that the person with whom Weir had conversed lay under that suspicion, Weir was thereupon condemned as guilty of high treason; and though he was not executed, yet the very precedent was a terrible thing, for most of the gentry might be as obnoxious as Weir was, and none could have the comfort to know when he was safe.

The Court, however, was resolved to prosecute this further, and accordingly a proclamation was put out in the beginning of the next year by which the King appointed Circuit Courts to be sent round the western and southern counties, to inquire after all who had been guilty of harbouring or conversing with those that had been in the late rebellion, even though neither process nor proclamation had been issued out against them, and to prosecute all that were found guilty of such converse as traitors, unless they immediately took the Test, which was to entitle them to indemnity. Upon this, great numbers ran in to take it, declaring at the same time that they did it against their consciences; but all who refused it were trying how to sell and settle their estates, being resolved to leave the country, where they were both disinherited of their birthright, the power of choosing their representatives in Parliament, and put under the cruelties of an Inquisition, because they would not violate their consciences.

When the affairs of Parliament were over, the Duke met the King at Newmarket, and there obtained leave to come and live at Court again; but as he went back to Scotland to bring home the Duchess, the ship wherein he was struck on a bank of sand. He took care of his dogs, and of some unknown persons, supposed to be priests; but the long-boat went off with a few people in it, when it might have contained above eighty more, and left a hundred and fifty souls, some men of great quality, to be swallowed up by the waves.

Before the Duke left Scotland he declared the new ministers. Gordon was made Chancellor, and Queensberry Treasurer, and to them was the care of all affairs committed, for Duke Lauderdale died this summer. At his parting he recommended the Council to preserve the public peace, to support the Church, and to oblige all men to live regularly, and in obedience to the laws. The bishops made their court to him with so much zeal, that they wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, praising in a very exalted strain his wise conduct, his affection for the Church, and care for them all. And this they did the rather because the severe execution of the laws against conventicles had obliged all people to come to church, which the clergy much magnified as the happy effect of the Duke's administration, though they could not but perceive that it was all done in hypocrisy. The people came to church indeed, but it was more from the fear of the law than for the worship of God. Their behaviour accordingly was awkward enough; they either sauntered, or slept, or talked all Divine service. From this state of indevotion they fell by degrees into a neglect of all religion, and from thence a spirit of atheism and infidelity, which before was a stranger in that kingdom, took its rise, and has ever since been cultivated and improved with too much care and too great success.

When the Duke came to London he found the Court everywhere triumphant. His own conduct in Scotland had crushed a contumacious party there, and the effects of the King's Declaration in England made them conceive great hopes of freeing themselves from the fears of troublesome Parliaments for the future. The cities and boroughs had in their addresses carried their compliments very high; and to complete the demonstration of their loyalty, they were now invited and prevailed on to surrender up their charters, and to take new ones, modelled as the Court thought fit—a vile and inglorious action to deliver up the privileges and customs that their ancestors held so sacred for the bad purpose of packing a Parliament to make way for a Popish king!

Their success in other places made them expect the same compliance from the city of London; but the city was too jealous of its privileges, and had of late been too ill-used by the Court's pretending to control all public elections, to be easily brought into such a surrender. The Mayor at that time was Sir John Moor, a person in all things compliant to the Court, because the Court had befriended his election; and when the day came whereon it is usual for the Mayor to mark out a person for one of the next sheriffs by the ceremony of drinking to him, he drank to North, a merchant, who was brother to the Chief Justice. The Common Hall, however, on Midsummer-day proceeded to the choice of two sheriffs, without any regard to the Mayor's nomination; whereupon it was pretended that the ceremony of drinking to a person was not a bare nomination, which the Common Hall might receive or refuse as they thought fit, but that it properly made the sheriff, and that the Common Hall was bound to receive and confirm him in course. And so, adjourning the court that the Sheriffs had called, and disannulling the poll that was then going on, the Mayor appointed himself another, to which none were admitted but those who were content to vote only for one, and to approve his nomination for the other. By this management North and Rich, though they had not so many as those of the Sheriffs' poll by several hundreds, were returned and sworn in for the ensuing year, leaving the other two to seek their remedy by law where they could find it.

The like indirect dealing was used in the choice of a mayor this year. The poll was closed when the Court thought they had the majority; but upon casting it up, it appeared they were mistaken, whereupon they demanded a scrutiny, and made so many exceptions to those of the other side, that they discounted as many voices as gave them a majority at last. But both these matters were managed in so gross a manner that they made it visible the Court was minded at any rate to have the government of the City and the appointment of juries in their hands for some wicked purposes that did not yet appear.

This made the City still more averse to surrender their charter, whereupon the Court, impatient of any further delay, was resolved to take it by force, and to have it condemned by a judgment in the Queen's Bench. The two points upon which they rested the cause were, that the Common Council had petitioned the King, upon a prorogation of the Parliament, that it might meet upon the day to which it was prorogued, and had taxed the prorogation as that which occasioned a delay of justice, which was raising sedition, and possessing the people with an ill opinion of the King and his Government. The other point was, that the City had imposed new taxes on their wharfs and markets, which was an invasion of the liberty and property of the subject, and contrary to law; and therefore, misbehaving in these particulars, they were liable to have their liberties, which were originally a grant of the Crown, seized.

The chief argument against these allegations was, that crimes committed by persons intrusted with the government of corporations were personal things, which were chargeable only on those who committed them, but could not affect the whole body; that if the petition they presented to the King was seditious, the King might proceed against every one that was concerned in it; or if the taxes that had been levied upon any had been exorbitant, they might bring their actions against those who had levied them; but since no such thing was ever yet done, it seemed strange that the whole body should suffer in common for that which none of those who were immediately concerned in it had been so much as brought in question for in any court of law; and lastly, that if the Common Council's petition for the sitting of the Parliament was more earnest than what became them, it ought to be ascribed to their zeal for the King's safety and the Protestant religion; and that if the tolls and taxes were higher than usual, it ought to be considered that the City, since the fire, had been at vast charge to make their wharfs and markets much more noble and convenient than they were before, and that to defray the debt contracted in building them by making others pay proportionably for the use of them was every whit as reasonable as for a man who rebuilds his house to raise the rent of it. This and the ill consequences of such a disfranchisement were the rational part of the argument. But it availed not much, for judgment was given that a city might forfeit its charter, that the malversations of the Common Council were the acts of the whole City, and that the two points set forth in the pleadings were just grounds for the forfeiting of a charter, upon which the proper conclusion seemed to be that therefore the City of London had forfeited its charter; but this was a consequence of too tender a nature to be mentioned at present, and the Attorney-General, contrary to the custom in such cases, moved that the judgment might not be recorded.

There were other very severe proceedings at this time with relation to particular persons. Pilkington was Sheriff of London the former year, an honest but indiscreet man, and who gave himself great liberties in talking. He, being desired to go along with the Mayor and aldermen to compliment the Duke upon his return from Scotland, refused to do it, and made some reflections on him, as if he had been concerned in burning the City. Two of the aldermen swore it against him; but Sir Patience Ward, the Mayor of the former year, deposed that to the best of his remembrance he did not hear him say those words; whereupon Pilkington was cast in £100,000 damages, the most extravagant that ever were given, and Ward indicted for perjury, found guilty, and, had he not gone out of the way, would have certainly been set in the pillory for it. The truth is, juries became at that time the shame of the nation, as well as a reproach to religion; for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon just evidence.

These hardships on private persons and infringements on public liberties made some begin to think of an alteration of government in earnest. The Earl of Shaftesbury was for making use of the heat the City was in during the contest about sheriffs, and thought that they might on that occasion have created a great disturbance, and made themselves masters of the Tower; but when he found that his counsel was rejected, and that the Court had gained their point in the election of sheriffs (being conscious of his own obnoxiousness, and apprehensive what forward sheriffs, willing juries, mercenary judges, and bold witnesses might do against him), he went out of England in good time; for fear, anger, and disappointment had so broken his understanding that his notions were become all wild and impracticable, and himself in no capacity to assist, but rather perplex, his party.

When the Earl of Shaftesbury was gone, the Duke of Monmouth resolved to be advised chiefly by Lord Essex; but Lord Essex was unwilling to be alone in a matter of such consequence, and named first Lord Russell, against whom there was no exception, and next to him Algernon Sidney, brother to the Earl of Leicester, a man of most extraordinary courage, steady even to obstinacy, and sincere, but too rough and boisterous in his temper to bear contradiction. He seemed to be a Christian, but in a particular form of his own; for Christianity, he thought, was to be like a Divine philosophy in the mind, without all public worship, or any other sign of a visible Church. Stiff he was in all Republican principles, and such an enemy to everything that looked like monarchy, that he opposed Cromwell after he was made Protector. But he had studied the history of government in all its branches, had a large knowledge of mankind and of their tempers, and could insinuate himself into people who would hearken to his notions with a wonderful dexterity. At this time he had got far into Lord Essex's confidence, and having a great kindness for Lord Howard, as an avowed hater of the King and monarchy, he prevailed with him and Lord Russell, contrary to the ill opinion they had of the man, to receive him into their secrets. John Hampden, the grandson of him who pleaded the cause of England with King Charles I. in the point of ship-money, and whose father was zealous in the exclusion, was thought another person proper to be admitted to their consultations. He was a young man of great parts and consummate learning, of heat and vivacity enough, but a little unequal in his temper, and much corrupted in his principles by Frère Simon's conversation at Paris.[1]

These were the men of the best distinction among the English with whom the Duke of Monmouth had frequent meetings. His interest in Scotland, both by the dependence that his wife's great estate brought him and by the confidence he knew they all had in him, made him look upon that kingdom as the most proper scene for action; for which purpose he had many conferences with Lord Argyll, while he was in London, about the state of the nation, and sent up for others whom the party had confidence in to advise what was proper to be done; and among these, the person that was trusted most, and to whom the journey proved fatal, was Baillie of Jerviswood, whose unjust treatment, upon Carstairs's information, we have given an account of before.

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[1] Hampden translated Simon's "Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament" into English, which was published in 1682.

There was at the same time a lower company of Lord Shaftesbury's creatures, who met continually in the Temple, at the chambers of one West, a witty and active man, but full of talk, and believed to be a determined atheist. Rumsey and Ferguson came constantly thither. The former of these had been an officer in Cromwell's army, and going afterwards over with some forces that served under Schomberg in Portugal, did a brave action in that service, for which he was recommended to the King, and by Lord Shaftesbury's means rewarded with a place. He was a bold-talking man, and by many suspected to be all along a Court spy; but his being privy to the secret of Lord Shaftesbury's going beyond sea without discovering it may make it be believed that, at this time at least, he was not admitted into that employment. Ferguson was a hot, confident man, having a spirit naturally turned to plotting, and a temper that delighted in mischief. He had been turned out from the Presbyterians, and so betook himself to the Independents, where his boldness raised him to some figure, though his abilities were very mean and his vanity very great; for having the management of a secret press, whence most of the pamphlets on that side were published, he affected to be thought the author of them, accounting the glory thereof so considerable as to be purchased with infinite danger.

The Duke of Monmouth had some time before carried Lord Russell, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong to one Shepherd's, a wine merchant, upon appointment to meet Lord Shaftesbury or some of his friends, in order to clear himself of some jealousies that Lord Shaftesbury had infused into the citizens, as if he was playing a double game; but when they came thither, and found none met but this Rumsey and Ferguson, they liked not their company, and were going, only

Lord Russell calling for a taste of some wines, which occasioned a small stay, Rumsey began a discourse of surprising the Guards, and insisted much on the easiness of doing it. But Armstrong, who had once commanded them, showed him his mistake therein, and as soon as Lord Russell (who had not spoken a word upon the subject) had tasted what wines he pleased, they all went away. This was the only time Lord Russell was ever in their company, but it proved of fatal consequence to him.

There were besides these one Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff of London in Bethel's year, Holloway of Bristol, and Walcot, an Irish gentleman who had been of Cromwell's army, who met at the same place in the Temple, and had some rambling discourse about forming an insurrection and preparing a declaration proper for the occasion. Rumsey, Ferguson, and West were averse to the project of a rising; they thought the shorter and surer way would be to kill both the brothers, which they expressed by the term "lopping;" and while they were going on in this wicked talk, one Rumbold, who was likewise of their company, mentioned a farm he had near Hoddesdon, through which the King, on his way to Newmarket, sometimes passed, not altogether incommodious for that purpose. They upon that ran into much wicked talk about the way of executing it, but there was nothing fixed on; all was but talk. The King, however, went to Newmarket in October, but upon a fire breaking out there, and consuming a part of the town, he returned a week sooner than he intended.

While things were in this agitation there was one Keeling, an Anabaptist, in London, whom Goodenough had often employed to try their strength in the City, and to compute what number of sure hands might be depended on in case of a rising; he had let him likewise into the secrets of their cabal, and had some discourse with him about killing the two brothers. Keeling was now going down in the world, and thinking to raise himself by turning evidence, he acquainted the Secretary with all that he knew, and drew in his brother for a corroborating evidence; but the Secretary was so dilatory in his proceeding, that the brother, who was trepanned into the thing, had time to send Goodenough, and all the other persons whom he had named, notice to get out of the way.

Within three days after Keeling's discovery the plot broke out, and became the whole discourse of the town. Many examinations were taken, and several persons were seized; and among others, one Wildman, who had been an agitator in Cromwell's army, and after the Restoration, being looked on as a high Republican, was kept long in prison, where he had studied law and physic so much, that he passed for a man very knowing in those matters. He had a way of creating in others a high opinion of his sagacity, had great credit with the Duke of Buckingham, and was now very active under Sidney's conduct. When he was apprehended, and his house searched, there were two small field-pieces belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, which were removed, when York House was to be pulled down, to Wildman's, and being found in the cellar, made a great noise; for they were carried to Whitehall, and exposed to public view as an undeniable proof of an intended rebellion, since here was their cannon.

Two days after this a proclamation was published for seizing on some who could not be found; and among these Rumsey and West were named. Rumsey and West were resolved to put themselves upon the footing of witnesses; and, that they might not contradict one another, they laid their heads together, and, from some foregoing passages, contrived this story, viz.:—"That the design of the rising was to be executed on the 17th of November, the day of Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, on which less notice would be taken, because the citizens used to run together in great multitudes on that day, to carry about Popes in procession, and burn them; that forty men, well armed and mounted, were appointed to kill the King and the Duke; that they were to be divided into two parties—Walcot to command that which was to engage the Guards, and Rumsey the other, which was to do the murder; that Rumbold had offered them his house, called Rye—and thence the whole plot had its appellation—as a convenient place to execute their design in, and what prevented the execution of it was the King's return from Newmarket a week sooner than was expected; that the Duke of Monmouth and other lords were in consultation with the gentlemen from Scotland to promote an insurrection in that kingdom; that Lord Russell was in the design of seizing the Guards, and Trenchard had undertaken to raise a body out of Taunton."

This was the substance of their discovery, which, how incredible soever in some parts of it, it was dangerous at that time not to believe; for there was a general outcry against the heinousness of it, and both preachers and poets had a noble subject to enlarge on, and to show how much the King and the Duke were under the watchful care of Providence.

When the Council found that the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Russell were named, they wrote to the King, who was then at Windsor, to come to London, not venturing to go any further without his presence and approbation. Lord Russell, though he might have made his escape, yet in confidence of his innocence stayed at home till a messenger was sent to carry him to the Council, and was thence, after his examination, committed close prisoner to the Tower. Sidney's examination lasted not long. He told them that he was to make the best defence he could, if they had any proof against him, but that he would never fortify their evidence by anything he should say. Trenchard, upon his examination, denied all; but there was one point of his guilt well known—he was the first who had moved for the Exclusion in the House of Commons, and upon that account was reckoned a lost man. Baillie came next before the Council. The King questioned him about the design against his person and the intended insurrection in Scotland. The former he solemnly denied; but when he desired to have the questions relating to the other particular given him in writing, that he might better know how to return proper answers, he so provoked both the King and the Duke with this demand, and with the air of neglect wherewith he received their threats, that, by a special direction, he was loaded with such heavy irons as made him, for some weeks, weary of his life.

As soon as the Council rose the King went to the Duchess of Monmouth's, and seemed so much concerned for the Duke that he wept when he spoke to her. He told her that some would come and search her lodgings, but that he had given order they should not enter her apartments, so that she might well enough conceal the Duke there. But the Duke would not trust him; and it was well he did not, for the very first place they went to was the Duchess's rooms; and this the Duke gave sometimes for a reason why he would never put any confidence in the King's words afterwards. Lord Grey behaved before the Council with great presence of mind; and when he was sent to the Tower, the gates being shut, he was obliged to stay in the messenger's hands all night; but he plied the messenger so with wine that he made him dead drunk, and next morning, as they went to the Tower, the messenger falling asleep, he called himself at the Tower gate to bring the Lieutenant to receive a prisoner; but afterwards bethinking himself that there might be some danger if, to confirm Rumsey's deposition, another witness should chance to rise up, he called for a pair of oars and went away, leaving the drunken messenger fast asleep.

Four days before Lord Russell's trial, Lord Howard, who had all this while protested that he knew nothing of the plot, was taken in his own house after a long search, and found standing up within a chimney. As soon as he was apprehended he fell a crying; and, at his first examination, told a long story of Lord Shaftesbury's design of raising the City, of Trenchard's undertaking to bring a body of men from Taunton, and that the 17th or 19th of November last was the day appointed for the rising. He owned likewise that there was a council of six settled, whereof himself was one; that they had several debates concerning an insurrection, and where it was to begin, whether in the City or in the country; but that, being first minded to know the disposition of the Scotch, they had sent down Aaron Smith to bring them sure information, and given him sixty guineas for his journey.

Lord Essex might have made his escape; but his tenderness for Lord Russell, and a fear that his absconding might have an ill influence at his trial, made him stay all this while at his country house, till a party of horse was sent to bring him up. When he came before the Council he was in much confusion; when he was lodged in the Tower he fell under a great depression of spirits. He sent by a servant, whom he had long trusted, a very melancholy message to his wife, "that what he was charged with was true, and that he was sorry he had ruined her and her children." He ordered many things to be sent him; and, among others, asked several times for a penknife with which he used to pare his nails; but that being in the country, he called for a razor, and said that would do as well.

The King and Duke came to the Tower that morning to see some invention about the ordnance, and as they were going into their barge, the cry of what had happened to Lord Essex came after them; for his man, thinking that he stayed longer than ordinary in his closet, had the door broken open, and found him dead on the floor with his throat cut.

A boy and a girl, about twelve years of age, reported that they heard great crying in his lodgings, and saw a bloody razor flung out at the window, which was taken up by a woman who belonged to the house; and the simplicity of the children, together with the ill opinion that was generally had of the Court, inclined many to believe that he was murdered. But the truth is, Lord Essex had got into an odd set of principles; particularly, he thought that every man was master of his own life, and might rid himself of it when he saw occasion; and these principles meeting with the spleen to which he was naturally inclined, made more probable what his own surgeon seemed to demonstrate from the position of the wound, that the violence must have proceeded from his own hand.

When Lord Russell was brought to his trial (which was on the very day that Lord Essex was found dead), Rumsey and Shepherd deposed against him that he had expressed his consent to the seizing of the Guards, though they did not swear to any one word of his that imported such consent; and, as Lord Howard began his evidence, news being brought into court of Lord Essex's death, he stopped, and said that he could not go on till he had given vent to his grief in some tears; but he soon recovered himself, and told all his story. Lord Russell defended himself by several who appeared to speak to his great worth, and to discredit Lord Howard's testimony, in that he had so often disavowed all knowledge of a plot; and he himself, in a short speech, touched on all the material points of law that had been suggested to him; but all would not do. The King's counsel would have it, that consultations to seize on the Guards were an overt act of a design against the King's person. Finch summed up the evidence, but in a manner that showed more of a vicious eloquence in turning matters with some subtlety against him than of solid and sincere reasoning. Jeffreys, to show his zeal, made an insolent declamation (such as all his speeches were), full of fury and indecent invectives. Pemberton, who was the head of the court, seemed to proceed very fairly at first, but in conclusion he told the jury that a design to seize the Guards was certainly a design against the King's life; and, upon these suggestions, the jury, which was too well inclined to do the Court all the favour it could, brought in a verdict against him, and he received sentence.

All possible methods after this were used to save his life. Money was offered to the Lady Portsmouth, and to all who had interest, and that without measure. Petitions and intercessions were made by his relations, and himself was brought to promise to live beyond the sea, in any place the King should name, and meddle no more with English affairs. But all was in vain; the

King and Duke both were fixed in their resolutions that he should die. Nor was he, by any hopes of mercy, diverted from making preparation for it. The last week of his life he was shut up all the mornings, as he himself desired; and about noon I came to him and stayed with him till night. Dr. Tillotson and I attended him every day, to administer to him the offices of religion and concerns of his soul; and to us he discovered a sincere contrition for his sins, a conversation that savoured of godliness, a Christian temper, without sharpness or resentment, and a deportment in many instances that looked like a triumph over death.

The day before his death he received the sacrament with much devotion, and retired into his chamber till towards the evening, when he suffered his children (who were very young), and some of his friends, to take leave of him, in which he maintained his constancy of temper, though he was a very fond parent. He parted with his lady at the same time with a composed silence, and she had that command of herself as to give him no disturbance, though, when she was gone, he said the bitterness of death was past; for he loved and esteemed her beyond expression.[1]

The morning before his execution he was not ill pleased with the account of the dying speeches of such as had suffered the day before. Walcot denied the whole business of the Rye Plot, or any engagement on his part to fight the Guards, while others were to kill the King. Hone, a poor tradesman of London, had been drawn in by Keeling and Lee, who was another witness, to promise his assistance in the design of killing the King; but he neither knew when nor where, nor how it was to be executed, and with his last breath declared that those who swore it against him were the only persons that had engaged him in the thing. Rowse had the same things sworn against him; but he denied that he had ever any thought against the King's life, and vindicated all his acquaintance from being any way concerned in the matter, or from approving any such black designs. And it was these men's dying in the manner they did that brought such a disgrace on the witnesses, that the Court thought it proper to lay them aside.

Before Lord Russell was carried out, Lord Cavendish came and generously offered to manage his escape, and to stay in prison for him while he should go away in his clothes, but he would not hearken to the motion; and the Duke of Monmouth sent him word that if he thought it would do him any service, he would come in and run fortunes with him, but his answer was, that it would be no advantage to him to have his friends die with him; and so he proceeded to the place appointed for his execution, which was in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He had written the King a letter, wherein he had asked pardon for everything he had said or done contrary to his duty; wherein he protested his innocence as to all designs against his person or government; complained of the hard usage he had met with, but forgave all, from the highest to the lowest, who had been concerned in it; and concluded hoping that his Majesty's displeasure at him would terminate with his life, and no part of it fall upon his wife and children. When he came to the scaffold he delivered a paper to the Sheriff, wherein he made profession of his dying a sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the Church of England, for the preservation of which he would have ventured his life, but had never been engaged in a black design. His aversion against Popery, he said, was very strong, because he looked upon it both as an idolatrous and bloody religion; for this reason he had been very earnest both in the prosecution of the Popish plot, and in the matter of the Exclusion, but had acted in both out of the sincerity of his heart, and with a purpose to secure the King's person and the Protestant religion. He was sensible, he said, that his present sufferings proceeded from thence; his sentence he thought was very hard, and that killing by forms of law was the worst kind of murder. But he forgave all who had procured his death; charged his friends to think of no revenge; prayed for the King, that his person and government might be happy; and concluded the whole with some devout ejaculations. After he had delivered the paper he made a short speech to the people, and having ended his private devotions, laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, which, at two strokes, was severed from his body.

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[1] "Lady Rachel Russell's Letters, with the Trial of Lord William Russell," were published in 1792.

This was the end of that great and good man, who both by his own experience found, as he told Lord Cavendish, and by his example showed, how prevalent the power of religion is, both to comfort and support our spirits in the time of extremity.

At this time Prince George of Denmark came to England to marry the Duke's second daughter. The Prince of Hanover had come over two years before to make his addresses to her; but he had scarcely arrived when he received orders from his father not to proceed in that design, because he had agreed on a match for him, which at that time would better accommodate the family, with his brother, the Duke of Zell, for his daughter, Sophia Dorothea; so that his pretensions were superseded, and the match that was now made with the brother of Denmark did not so well please the nation, because, as the proposition came first from France, they were apprehensive he would be induced to change his religion. But in that they were mistaken; for he not only continued firm in the Protestant faith, but lived in all respects as happy with the Princess as possible, except in one particular—that all his children (as he had many) were taken off young.

The affairs abroad were now everywhere in a great fermentation. The Emperor had governed Germany so strangely as at once to persecute the Protestants and to oppress the Papists in their liberties, upon which the malcontents ran to arms, and had possessed themselves of several places in Upper Hungary; but, being unable to maintain their ground against the Emperor's whole force, they offered all submissions to the Turk, and begged his protection. Upon this that great war broke out, and the siege of Vienna began; and had it been prosecuted as it was first undertaken, the town must have surrendered, and with that the Emperor and his whole family been ruined; while the King of France, who encouraged the rebellion in Hungary, and drew the Turk into Christendom, was ready with a great army on the frontier of Germany to raise himself to the empire upon the other's ruin. But Vienna was relieved, and the King of France disappointed of his hope. He sent Humiers, however, into the Spanish Netherlands, to destroy and ruin the country, and to take possession of Luxemburg; and it was said that he gave £300,000 to gain the King's consent to do this, for which Lady Portsmouth valued herself not a little, and called it the last service she did to the Court of France.[1]

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[1] At this time I went over to France, principally to be out of the way, as I was fallen on in almost every libel, and many insinuations in the new set of addresses, now running about the nation, looked towards me. In France, Rouvigny, who was Lady Russell's uncle, studied to get me much visited and known. There my acquaintance with Marshal Schomberg began; and by him I was acquainted with Marshal Bellefonds, who was a devout but weak man, a great reader of the Scriptures, and one that

Addresses now went round the nation with more heat and pompous eloquence than the former, and all magnifying the providential fire at Newmarket, that had happily occasioned the King's deliverance. Presentments were made against all who were esteemed Whigs and Nonconformists; great pains were taken to find out more witnesses; pardons and rewards were offered very freely, but none came in. Pemberton was turned out of the Common Pleas, and Jones was put in his place; and Jeffreys (to the indication of some black design) was made Lord Chief Justice. For he was not only scandalously vicious, drunk every day, and furiously passionate, but he even betrayed the decencies of his post by not affecting to appear impartial, as became a judge, and by running upon all occasions into noisy declamations, void of any show of learning in his profession, and in a luxuriant eloquence that was neither correct nor agreeable.

The first thing that the King did, after he had thus fitted himself with judges, was to send a new message to the city of London, requiring the Common Council to deliver up their charter; but, upon their refusal, he ordered the judgment before mentioned to be entered, seized on their liberties, turned out the aldermen and other officers, put others in their places, and for some time let them continue a city without a charter or Common Council; and then the remainder of the trials came on.

Howard gave the only evidence against the prisoners of better rank, so other things had to be found out as a supplement

seemed to practise the virtues of the desert in the midst of that Court. I knew the Archbishop of Rheims, a rough, boisterous man, with good notions of the episcopal duty in all things, except that of setting a good example to his clergy. The Duke of Montausier was a pattern of virtue and sincerity, for which reason he was made the Dauphin's governor; and in that capacity used his utmost care, but without success. The Prince of Condé had a great quickness of apprehension, and was thought the best judge in France both of wit and learning. Faure, of the Sorbonne, was the best read in ecclesiastical history, and Pique best acquainted with the Scriptures of any of their order, and both averse to the Papal authority. St. Amour, the author of the journal of what passed at Rome in the condemnation of the five propositions of Jansenius, was a sincere and worthy man, but had more judgment than either quickness or learning. The Père Bourdaloue, esteemed the greatest preacher of the age, was a man of a sweet temper, and not at all violent against the Protestants, for that he believed good men among them might be saved; and Spanheim, envoy from the Elector of Brandenburg, was an excellent critic in all ancient learning, a man of great ability in affairs, and, what seldom meets in very learned men, of a very frank and cheerful conversation. With all these persons I was acquainted.

to support it. Sidney had written part of an answer to a book of Filmer's, entitled, "Patriarcha, or the Divine Right of Monarchy upon the Son's succeeding to the Authority of the Father," which was found among his papers; and in it he had asserted that princes had their power from the people, with restrictions and limitations, and that they were liable to the justice of the people if they abused their power to the prejudice of the subjects, or against established laws. And so, because there was but one witness against him, this, by an innuendo, was said to be a proof of his being in the plot against the King's life, and was insisted on that it ought to stand for a second witness. There were several persons of great rank and quality who appeared to invalidate Lord Howard's evidence. Sidney showed how improbable it was that one who could not raise five men, nor pay them five shillings, should be taken into such consultations; and as to the book, he proved that it was not written by him, since similitude of hands in capital cases passed for nothing, and that it was written some years ago, and consequently could be no proof of the late plot; that it contained nothing but private speculations of government, which had not yet been published; and that its not being finished made it impossible for any one to conjecture what its design was, or its conclusion might be. But all was in vain. Finch aggravated the matter of the book as a proof of his intentions, and pretended that it was an overt act; and Jeffreys delivered it as law, that two witnesses, one to the treason, and another to a circumstance only, were all that the statute required. So Sidney was cast; and when the Sheriffs brought the warrant for his execution he expressed no concern—only he desired them to consider, not for his (for the world was now nothing to him), but for their own sakes, how guilty they were of his blood, who had returned a packed jury, and as they were directed by the King's solicitor; and one of the Sheriffs was so struck with the admonition that he wept. In his imprisonment he had sent for some Independent preachers, and expressed to them a deep remorse for his past sins, and great confidence in the mercies of God; and, indeed, he met death with an unconcernedness that became one who had set up Marcus Brutus for his pattern. He was but a very few minutes on the scaffold at Tower Hill, where he delivered a paper to the Sheriff, in which he showed his own innocence and Lord Howard's infamy; vindicated the subject of the book at large; and concluded with a prayer that the nation might be preserved from idolatry and tyranny. After that he spoke but little, prayed very short, and his head was cut off at one blow.

Hampden was the only man of the six that was left; yet, there being nothing but Howard's evidence against him, without one circumstance to support it, he was only indicted of a misdemeanour, but found guilty by Jeffreys's direction to the jury, and fined £40,000, which amounted, indeed, to an imprisonment for life.

The Duke of Monmouth was all this summer lurking in England, and intending to go beyond sea and engage in the Spanish service, when Lord Halifax prevailed with him to write to the King, and penned him several letters with such extraordinary force that the King was mollified, and inclined to restore him to favour upon this condition—that he should make a humble confession of his offences in general words to the King, and a common compliment of asking pardon to the Duke. He did so, and the King received him with an extraordinary fondness, as the Duke put on the appearance of being well enough pleased; but when the King next day told some about him that the Duke of Monmouth had confirmed what Howard had sworn, and the Duke denied it with some vehemence, calling Howard a liar and a rogue, the King insisted that he should give it under his hand that he had confessed the plot. "Plot was but a general word, that might signify as much or as little as a man pleased. They had certainly dangerous consultations among them, which might well enough be called plots." And, upon these suggestions, Lord Halifax persuaded him to comply with the King's demand. But no sooner had he done so than he went to the King full of uneasiness, and desired that he might have his letter again in the terms of an agony like despair. The King gave it back, pressing him vehemently to comply with his desire; but never after that could he be brought to any such acknowledgment. Upon this behaviour he was forbidden the Court, and went into Holland, and was treated by the Prince of Orange with very great civility and respect, but not without the King's consent and approbation; for, when that prince was last in England, the King showed him one of his seals, and told him that whatever he might write to him, unless it was sealed with that seal, he might look upon it as drawn from him by importunity. Though, therefore, he wrote some terrible letters to the Prince against the countenance he gave the Duke of Monmouth, yet, as they were not sealed with that seal, the

Prince looked upon them as a tacit direction to him to keep him about him, and to use him well.

Some time in the spring Holloway was brought over from the West Indies under an outlawry for treason, and was prevailed on, by the hope of pardon, to confess all he knew of the plot. He owned there had been some consultations among them about raising an insurrection, and the seizing of Bristol by the help of some who were to come from Taunton, but that they had made no progress in the design. And he acknowledged that in their meetings Rumsey and West were often talking of *lopping* the King and the Duke, but that he had never entered into any discourse with them about the subject, nor did he believe that there were above five persons who approved it. So that, after all the story that was made of the plot, it had gone no further, according to his confession, than that a company of seditious and inconsiderable people were framing among themselves some treasonable schemes that were never likely to come to anything, and that Rumsey and West had pushed on the execrable design of an assassination, which very few agreed to, though too many who heard it from them were so foolish and wicked as not to discover it. Holloway, however, was not thought sincere in his confession, and so he was executed—dying with a firm constancy, and leaving behind him a speech that expressed a deep sense of religion, and a prayer that was an excellent composure.

Sir Thomas Armstrong was seized by the scout at Leyden for 5,000 guilders, and delivered to Chudley, the King's envoy to the States, who sent him over in great haste. He was now under an outlawry; but the statute was express, that if any outlawed person came in at any time within the year, he was to have the liberty of a trial, notwithstanding his outlawry. So, when he was brought to the King's Bench bar, he claimed the benefit of the act, and to have a fair trial for his life; but that was denied him, upon pretence of his being seized, and not coming in of his own accord.

His carriage during his imprisonment and at his death was far beyond what could have been imagined. He turned himself wholly to the thoughts of God and another state; was continually praying; and seemed to rejoice in that he was brought to die in such a manner, since it was scarce possible in any other way to have awakened him into a due sense of his former sins. His pride and resentments were so entirely conquered that he seemed to be another man to what he was formerly; and in his last minutes his mind was so quiet, and his whole deportment so serene, that there scarce was ever known a more eminent instance than what appeared in him of the grace and mercy of God. He was treated very cruelly; for he was carried to Tyburn in a sledge, there quartered, and his quarters set up; and the reason the King gave for using him with such severity was, that he was once sent over by Cromwell to murder him, and when he was discovered, had confessed his design to the King; whereas, in the paper he delivered to the Sheriff, he declared solemnly he had never been beyond sea but once, and that when sent over by the Earl of Oxford and some other Cavaliers with a considerable present to the King in money; that he delivered it faithfully, and brought back letters of thanks from the King to those who had employed him; that Cromwell, having some notice of this, clapped him up in prison, where he continued almost a year; and that, upon the merit of this service, he was made captain of horse soon after the Restoration—a story much different from what the King reported, and was probably one reason why the Court ordered no such reflections to be made upon his speech as had been published on others. And with these executions we leave the affairs of England, to carry our readers on to the like proceedings in the North.

Great pains were taken in Scotland to make a further discovery of the negotiation between the English and the Scots. A gentleman who had been at Bothwell Bridge was taken up at Newcastle, with letters written in odd cant, which he was carrying from some Cameronians to their friends in Holland; and the fright he was in had so seized him that he was easily managed to pretend to discover anything that was suggested to him. But, as he had never been in London, his story was so ill laid together that the Court was ashamed to make use of him, and the thing turned heavily upon himself, for he went mad upon it. There were two others who came in and accused Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, an ancient gentleman of good estate, of having promoted the rebellion of Bothwell Bridge; but, when the first witness was examined, Campbell charged him to look him full in the face, and to consider well what he was going to say of him, for he took God to witness he had never seen him before as far as he could remember, which struck him so that he owned he knew nothing of him; and, the other witness being equally confounded, the jury acquitted Campbell; but they received such a severe reprimand from the Earl of Perth, who was then Justice-General, as showed how ready he was to sacrifice both justice and innocent blood to his ambition, which in this case was still grosser because his brother was promised that gentleman's estate when it should be confiscated.

In the meantime a great breach was formed, and appeared on all occasions between the Earls of Aberdeen and Queensberry, wherein Queensberry gaining the superiority, Aberdeen was dismissed, and Lord Perth was made Chancellor—an honour that he had long been aspiring at, and wherein he studied to gratify the Duke's temper, which he found was inclined to unrelenting severity.

When any are to be struck in the boots, as they call it, it is done in the presence of the Council; and, upon that occasion, almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful that, without an order restraining such a number to stay, the board would be forsaken. But the Duke, while he had been in Scotland, was so far from withdrawing, that he stood all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been looking on some curious experiment. The rule about the boots was, that upon one witness and presumptions both together, the question (as they term it) might be given; but it was never known to be twice given, or that any other species of torture might be used at pleasure. There was one Spence, a servant of the Earl of Argyll, who, being taken up in London only on suspicion, and sent down to Scotland, was required to take an oath to answer all questions that should be put to him. He refused to do it, and was struck in the boots; but, when that would not do, he was kept from sleep eight or nine nights; and, when that would not do likewise, he had steel thumbscrews put on him, which proved such exquisite torment that he sank under it. But all he had to tell them was who were his master's correspondents, and in what manner the cipher was to be unfolded that he corresponded by.

When the torture had had this effect upon Spence, they offered the same oath to Carstairs; and, upon his refusing to take it, they put his thumbs in the screws, and drew them so hard that they could not unscrew them till the smith who made them was brought with his tools to take them off. The extreme torture made him confess all he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose discourses about the taking of the Duke, which he said his principles would never agree to; but he had some secrets of great consequence from Holland, trusted to him by Fagel, which they had no suspicion of, and which his concealing at that time recommended him to the Prince of Orange's favour, and was the foundation of the great confidence he put in him as long as he lived.

Upon what was extorted from these two persons, the Earl of Tarras and six or seven more men of quality were committed to prison; but the main design in their commitment was to destroy Baillie of Jerviswood, by putting in force this new method of proceeding against him. An accusation was sent him, not in the form of an indictment, or grounded on any law, but on a letter of the King's, wherein he was charged both with a conspiracy to raise a rebellion, and with an engagement in the Rye Plot, of all which he was now required to purge himself by oath, otherwise the Council would hold him guilty of it, and proceed accordingly against him. A committee of the Council was sent to tender him the oath and to take his examination. He protested his innocence and abhorrence of all designs against the King or the Duke's life, but steadfastly refusing to take the oath, he was adjudged guilty by the Council, fined £6,000, and ordered to lie in prison till it was paid, where he was still used with the same severity, his friends denied access, and not one of his own family allowed to attend him in his illness. But all this was not enough to satisfy the Duke's malice; and therefore the ministry applied their arts to Tarras and the other prisoners, threatening them with all the extremities of misery if they would not witness some treasonable matter against him; and, in conclusion, they prevailed with Tarras, and one Murray of Philipshaugh, to depose to some discourses that Baillie had with them before he went to London, disposing them to a rebellion. And the evidence was swelled to that degree that Baillie was found guilty; and, for fear that he should die too quick for them—as the cruelties of his imprisonment had brought him very near it—was condemned to be executed that very day.

But all this barbarity affected him but little. His languishing in so solitary a manner made him embrace death as a welcome deliverance. And, indeed, his whole behaviour looked like the reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks and Romans, or rather of the primitive Christians and first martyrs in those best ages of the Church. He showed in his speech at his execution that in several particulars the witnesses had wronged him. He still denied all knowledge of any design against the King's life, or the Duke's, or of any plot against the

Government. But, as he thought it was lawful for subjects, being under such pressures, to try how they might be relieved from them, so he protested that the whole affair wherein he had been engaged had never gone any further, though those who cut him off made it an apology for this infamous prosecution that he was certainly guilty, and had the whole secret of the negotiation between the two kingdoms entrusted with him.

Thus died a very learned and worthy gentleman; and, with his death, there was a cessation of severities during this reign, and several alterations both in Church and State did ensue. Burnet died in Scotland, and Ross (a poor ignorant and worthless man, but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent that they supplied all other defects) was raised to be Primate of Glasgow. Sterne, Archbishop of York, a sour, ill-tempered man, and suspected of Popery because he was too compliant to the Court, and zealous for the Duke, died very old and very rich;[1] and Dolben, Bishop of Rochester, who succeeded him, was a man of more spirit than discretion, an excellent preacher, but of so free a conversation that he laid himself open to much censure in a vicious court. Gunning of Ely died this summer, a man of great reading, with all the subtilty and disputing humour of a schoolman; but he had so great a confusion of things in his head that he could bring nothing into method, and was therefore a very dark and perplexed preacher. He was succeeded by Turner, a sincere and good-natured man, but of too quick an imagination, and too defective a judgment, and one who had been conversant more with men than books. Old Morley, Bishop of Winchester, died this winter, a very eminent man in many respects, zealous against Popery, and yet a great enemy to the Dissenters, with a considerable share of learning, and a great vivacity of thought; but he had no command of his temper, and was too apt, upon any slight opposition, to be provoked. Mew, Bishop of Bath and Wells, succeeded him, who had been a captain during the wars, knew very little of divinity or any other learning, yet by his zeal and obsequiousness was raised through several steps to this great see. Ken succeeded him in Bath and Wells, a man of an ascetic course of life, and yet of a very lively temper, if not too hot. He had a very edifying way of preaching, but it was more apt to move the passions than instruct the reason; and though his manner of doing it was very taking, yet there always appeared more beauty than solidity in his sermons.

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[1] He was a native of Mansfield, Notts; chaplain to Laud, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1633. Charles II. made him Bishop of Carlisle, and translated him to York. He was a very learned man, and one of the revisers of the Liturgy.

There was one man more, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in the course of this history, who died this year, viz., Bishop Leighton, who had resigned the prelacy of Glasgow, and lived ten years after that in great retirement. He used often to say that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be in an inn, because it not only looked like a pilgrim going home (as this world was no more than an inn), but was free likewise from that officious tenderness and concern of friends which was an entanglement to a departing soul. And accordingly he obtained his desire, for he died at the Bell Inn in Warwick Lane; and having not long before received the last remittance he expected from Scotland, in this circumstance he was fortunate too, that his provision and his journey failed both at once. He was a man of a truly pious and apostolic spirit; often used to lament the gross ignorance and insensibility of the common people of England in matters of religion; often used to blame the cruelty, and corruption, and secular spirit that appeared in the Church of Rome, and to look on the state that the Church of England was in with very melancholy reflections. He allowed, indeed, that our Church was happily constituted in her doctrine, her worship, and a main part of her government; but as to the administration, both with relation to the Ecclesiastical Courts and the pastoral care, he accounted it one of the most corrupt he had ever seen, and thought that we looked like a fair carcass without a spirit, without that zeal, that strictness of life, and that laboriousness of the clergy which became us.

Besides these alterations in the Church, there happened this year several changes at Court. Jenkins had done all the drudgery they had for him to do, and was now dismissed from being Secretary of State, and Godolphin succeeded him. The Earl of Radnor was discharged from being President of the Council, and Lord Rochester was put in his room. The Lord Godolphin grew weary of the labour of being Secretary, and chose rather to be First Commissioner of the Treasury; and the Earl of Middleton, son to him who was Commissioner in Scotland, was put in the office—a man of generous temper, with sufficient learning, a good judgment, and a lively apprehension, but not much religion. Dissenters all this year were severely prosecuted, and not only prohibited from going to conventicles, but compelled to go to church. The Earl of Danby, who had been five years in the Tower, was admitted to bail; and so were the Popish lords that were sent thither upon Oates's information. Oates himself was prosecuted at the Duke's suit, and fined £100,000 and imprisonment for life, till a fit opportunity should happen to carry matters further against him. Many were sued in actions of *scandalum magnatum* by the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Peterborough, and some others, and great damages were given by obsequious juries. An information of a higher nature was brought against Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, for licensing the printing of the votes, wherein were some matters of scandal relating to certain lords; but he demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court, and so it went on further.

Three women in Michaelmas term came and deposed against Roswell, a Presbyterian preacher, treasonable words which he had delivered at a conventicle, and swore to two or three periods without the least variation. Roswell made a strong defence. He proved that the persons were infamous; that they were not seen at his meeting that day, nor were they capable of remembering so long a period so very minutely; that he himself had always been a loyal man; that the words were too gross to be delivered in a mixed assembly, had no relation to his text, nor were ever heard, or anything like them, by any that were there, or that took down the sermon in shorthand. But all his defence availed nothing. Jeffreys laid it down for a foundation that all preaching in conventicles was treasonable, and so ought to dispose the jury to believe any evidence whatever on that head; whereupon they brought him in guilty. But when the importance of the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treason by any statute; so Roswell moved for an arrest of judgment till counsel should be heard on that point, which was granted him. But the verdict that declared a preacher guilty for things said to be uttered in a sermon, even against so many proofs and probabilities to the contrary, might nevertheless have been a precedent very fatal to any of the clergy.

But there was another trial the same term of more importance to the Court. When Armstrong was taken, there was found in his pocket-book a letter of credit written by Hayes, a banker in London, but directed to another name in Holland. Much pains were used with Hayes to prevail with him to discover the cabal of men that sent money through his hands for the support of those who had escaped beyond sea on account of the plot. But, when they found him inflexible, they brought him to his trial; and Jeffreys, with his usual vehemence, urged the jury to find him guilty of high treason, telling them withal that the King's life and safety depended upon their verdict. The jury, however, were too considerate to be wrought up to such a pitch. It appeared to them that a banker's business was not to examine into other men's concerns, but only give bills of exchange or letters of credit as they were desired; and thereupon, to the great mortification of the Court, that began to reckon juries now absolutely under their direction, they acquitted him. The truth is, the King had now given up the reins of government entirely into the Duke's hands, who in these and many more instances drove on with vast precipitation, while the other affected to be fast asleep.[1]

If foreign affairs could have awakened him, there were transactions this year sufficient, one would think, to have done it. The French King had not only made himself master of Luxemburg, but, upon a very slight provocation, sent a fleet against Genoa, with orders to bombard and take it. The Genoese, however, made a better defence and beat off the French with more courage than was expected from them. They made their application next to the two great maritime powers to protect them; but when they saw that we would not, and the Dutch, without us, could not undertake their protection, they were forced to send the Doge and some senators to Versailles to ask the King's pardon, though it was not easy to tell for what, unless it was because they presumed to resist his invasion. As little care was also taken in our Government to call the King of France to account for his severe prosecution of his Protestant subjects, contrary to his own edicts and solemn engagements: all that we did was to give them some shelter as they came over this year in great numbers to England. As little care, too, to assist the Emperor (who was now grown low and exhausted) with proper supplies to push the war of Hungary against the Turks with success, as it might have been done if, after the King of Poland had raised the siege of Vienna, the Emperor had been enabled to have taken the advantage of their consternation. And as little care, lastly, to protect our own trade, when we suffered the Dutch to drive us out of Bantam this year, and slighted all our works in Tangiers (which gave us the key of the Mediterranean), even when they were well-nigh brought to perfection, for no other reason but only to save charge, and that the Court might be enabled to hold out the longer without a Parliament. For the truth was, we were too busy at home to mind any affairs beyond sea, and had private designs carrying on that would not abide the inspection of Parliament, and therefore made use of all the most abject means to procure money without them.

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[1] By way of note I must here mix in somewhat with relation to myself, which set me at liberty to go round some parts of Europe. By the King's orders I was discharged from preaching the Thursday's lecture at St. Clement's; and for a sermon preached at the Rolls Chapel, on the 5th of November, on these words, "Save me from the lion's mouth; thou hast heard me from the horns of unicorns," which was thought of dangerous construction, because the lion and the unicorn were the two supporters of the King's escutcheon, I was by the King's order also dismissed from being preacher of the Rolls; so, having such public marks of jealousy set on me, I thought it convenient to withdraw.

A gentleman of a noble family being at a public supper with much company, some hot words passed between him and another, which raised a sudden quarrel, wherein one of them fell. The proof could carry it no further than manslaughter, no marks of any preceding malice appearing; but the young gentleman was prevailed on to confess the indictment, and let sentence pass on him for murder, on assurance of a pardon. He had a pardon indeed; but, because his family was rich, and not well affected to the Court, it cost him £16,000, of which the King had one half, and the other was divided between the two ladies that were in most favour. A monstrous perversion of justice this, to set the blood of subjects for sale, not as a compensation to the family of the person murdered, but to the Prince himself, and to some that were in his good graces upon no commendable motives! And there was another thing that happened about this time, though not exactly of the same nature. The Lord Clancarty, who was sprung from the noblest and richest family in Ireland, that had all along been Papists was by his father left to his mother's guardianship, who, being a zealous Protestant, and fearful lest her son should be infected with the religion of the family, brought him over to Oxford, and committed him to Bishop Fell's care, who was then also Dean of Christchurch, for his education. He had an uncle, Colonel Maccarthy, who was in most things where his religion was not concerned a man of honour; but here, to pervert his nephew, as well as make his own court, he got the King to write to the Bishop to let the young lord come up and see the diversions of the town at Christmas. But when he came, being then at the age of consent, he was married to one of Lord Sunderland's daughters, whereby he soon broke through the restraint of his education, and became a Papist. Thus the King suffered himself to be made an instrument in one of the greatest of crimes—the taking of an infant out of the hands of a guardian, and marrying him privately.

The King might, however, think that he commuted for the sin of this by his being the cause of having that lord brought up in the Popish religion, for which he, according to the general opinion here and advices from abroad, was now in a disposition to declare. It is certain that the Court of France was in full expectation of it, which might probably be occasioned by this—that one of our East Indian ships had brought over a missionary from Siam, a man of warm imagination, and who talked of his having converted and baptized many thousands in that kingdom. He was well received at Court, and diverted the King much with the relation of his adventures and other passages of his travels. Upon this encouragement he desired a private audience, in which he pressed the King with great vehemence to return to the bosom of the Church. The King entertained him civilly, and gave him such answers as he took for indications of his intention to do so; whereupon he wrote to Père-la-Chaise that they would quickly hear news of the King's conversion. The confessor carried it to the French King, the King gave hints of it at his levee and table, and so the rumour of it was remitted to us.

But to go on with our missionary. He was directed by some to apply himself to Lord Halifax, to try if he could convert him. Lord Halifax found him to be a very vain and empty man; and, among other questions to which he returned very simple answers, he desired to know why they had not endeavoured to convert the King of Siam himself, since, according to his own account, he was very favourable to their religion. The missionary told him that the King put his conversion on this issue, viz.: "That, since they pretended the Author of their religion had left with his followers a power of working miracles, if they would apply that power to him, so as to expel the palsy from his arm and his leg, he would change immediately. Their bishop of the mission, as he said, was bold enough to undertake it. The day was set; the Bishop with his priests came; and, after some prayers, the King told them he felt some heat and motion in his arm, but the palsy was more rooted in his leg, so he desired the Bishop to go on. The Bishop told him that since their God had made one step to him, he must at least make the next to God, and meet him half-way. But the King was obstinate, and would have the whole miracle finished before he would change. The Bishop, on the other hand, thought he had ventured enough, and would engage no further, and so the whole matter went off." Upon which Lord Halifax said that since the King was such an infidel, they ought to have prayed the palsy instantly into his arm again, which might have proved both a means of his conviction and a sanction of their miracle. This put the poor missionary into some confusion, and the air of contempt wherewith Lord Halifax spoke of him and his narration, both to the King and Duke, made him appear no more at Court.

All this, however, had a favourable aspect towards Popery; and things, indeed, were come to such a crisis, that it became necessary for the patriots of their country to attempt something in order to rescue it from the imminent danger of it; and, for this purpose, a new scheme at this time was formed to alienate the King from the Duke's management; and how contrived, or how to be carried on, is not so easy to penetrate. This only is certain—that the thing was laid at Lady Portsmouth's lodgings; that Barillon, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin were the managers of it; that the Duke of Monmouth came over secretly upon it, and went back well satisfied with his journey; and that the thing was to begin with sending the Duke of York into Scotland, for which purpose the King had laid his positive commands upon him to go.

While things were in this situation the King was all of a sudden taken very ill. His stomach was gone, his speech and memory failed him; and, on Monday, the 2nd of February, he was seized with a violent fit that looked like an apoplexy. His face was black, and his eyes were turned in his head; but, upon being bled, he came out of the fit, though the effects of it hung so visibly about him, that, in case of a return, the physicians could not but look on him as a dead man. The Bishop of London took this occasion to remind him to prepare for his latter end; but he did it in a cold and unaffecting manner. Sancroft made a very weighty exhortation to him, in which he used a good degree of freedom, which was necessary, he said, because he was going to be judged by One that was no respecter of persons. But the King answered neither of them a word, which some imputed to his insensibility, but others more truly to his attachment to another religion, as it appeared soon after.

On Thursday a second fit returned; and when the physicians told the Duke that the King was not likely to see the day to an end, he immediately sent for Hudleston, a priest more acceptable to the King, because he had a great hand in saving him at Worcester fight. When Hudleston was come, and all things were ready, the Duke whispered to the King, and the King ordered all, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham, to withdraw. The company went out, and the door was double locked—only Lord Feversham opened it once, and called for a glass of water, when the Host stuck in the King's throat. Hudleston had soon done his office, or at best did it very superficially; for in the compass of one half-hour he made the King, according to what account he sent to Rome, go through some acts of contrition and make his confession; gave him absolution, the sacrament, extreme unction, and what not; and then the company was suffered to come in again. Ken, at this juncture, applied himself much to awaken the King's conscience; he spoke with an elevation of thought and expression like a man who was inspired; he exhorted him six or seven times to receive the sacrament; he pressed him to declare his dying in the communion of the Church of England; but the King said nothing. He pronounced short ejaculations and prayers, that affected all but him they concerned chiefly; and read at last the Absolution over him, for which he was mightily blamed, as prostituting the peace of the Church to one who had led a very immoral life, and seemed then to harden himself against everything that could be said to him; for, except that one expression, "That he hoped he should climb up to heaven's gate," there was not one word heard to come from him that savoured of religion. He went through the agonies of death, however, with a calm and constancy that amazed all who were about him. And his agonies were very grievous; for, besides the convulsions of nature, he complained much how he was burnt up within, but he did it with great decency. At last he gathered all his strength together to speak his last words to the Duke, and every one was attentive to them. He expressed great kindness to him, and that he now delivered all into his hands with joy, recommending to his care, over and over again, Lady Portsmouth and her son, the Duke of Richmond, and desiring him to be kind to his other children, and not let poor Nelly[1] starve; but he said not one word of his queen, his people, or his servants, nor gave him any advice about religion or government, the interest of the nation, or any other subject that would have better become this serious and important moment.

When he had done the agonies returned upon him, and about eleven o'clock he died, on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and after he had reigned, if we reckon from his father's death, thirty-six years and eight days, but if from his restoration, only twenty-four years, eight months, and nine days. His dying so critically, as it were, in the minute in which he seemed to begin a new turn of affairs, made it generally believed that he had not fair play for his life. He had come but just before to a final resolution of sending away his brother, and of calling a Parliament, which was to be executed the next day after he fell into the fit whereof he died. Lady Portsmouth was in this secret; and she speaking of it to her confessor, he very likely told it to some who took this wicked means to prevent it. It is certain that both Lower and Needham, two famous physicians, plainly discerned two or three blue spots on the outside of the stomach; and, when Needham called twice to have it opened, the surgeons seemed not to hear him, and busied themselves in inspecting some other parts, till the stomach, when called for again, had been carried away. Sharp, another physician, spoke more confidently than others of the thing; but, soon after, he himself was poisoned (as he verily believed, with a draught of wormwood wine, that he had in the house of a Popish patient not far from Tower Hill) for speaking so freely of the King's death.

After all, there was no suspicion of such practices laid upon the Duke. They might have been done without his knowledge; but that which drew hard censures upon him was, that he let the King's body lie neglected, as it did, without any state and magnificence, and gave it a funeral at last not so great and expensive as that of any ordinary nobleman. The truth is, there was something more due to the royal remains of a brother who, how ungracious soever he might be to others, was certainly very kind to him.

Thus lived and died King Charles II., who was one of the greatest instances in history of the various revolutions that ever could befall any one man. He was bred up, the first twelve years of his life, with the splendour that became the heir of three kingdoms. After that, he passed through eighteen years in great inequalities, unhappy in the war, in the loss of his father, and of the crown of England. While he was abroad he never seemed to lay anything to heart, but pursued his diversions and irregular pleasures with the same serenity as if things about him had been in a happy condition. During what should have been the active part of his life he was given up to sloth and lewdness to such a degree that he hated business, and could not bear to engage in anything that put him to the least trouble or constraint. In his administration the softest thing that can be said of him is, that he wanted steadiness and good conduct. His entering into two Dutch wars upon a frivolous pretence, his sacrificing Lord Clarendon to public resentment, his shutting up the Exchequer, his declaration for toleration, his selling his own country, and contributing so much to raise the greatness of France, his professing to be of the Church of England while he secretly was reconciled to the Church of Rome, with many more instances that have been mentioned in the course of this history, were a chain of black actions flowing from such black designs as were enough to discredit all the fulsome flatteries that addresses came loaded with.

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[1] The actress, Eleanor Gwynne, by whom he had the Duke of St. Alban's, ancestor of the present duke.

In short, his person and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, resemble the character we have given us of Tiberius so much, that it is no hard matter to draw a parallel between them. Tiberius's banishment, and coming afterwards to reign; his hatred of business, and his love of pleasure; his raising of favourites, and trusting them entirely; his pulling them down, and hating them excessively; his covering his revenge with an appearance of softness, his craft and artifice with a show of sincerity; and deceiving all who trusted him by fair words and artful insinuations, bring them so near a likeness that it is less wonder there should have happened, at such a distance of time, so remarkable a resemblance of their face and person.[1]

However ungrateful the task has proved to myself, thinking the labour would be of some use to posterity, I have gone through all that I know of the long and tedious reign of King Charles II. with the strict regard to truth of one who believes that he must give an account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he says and does, with an earnest desire to preserve what I think may prove instructive to mankind, regardless of party or braggadocio.

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[1] At Rome I saw one of the last statues made for Tiberius after he had lost his teeth. But abating the alteration which that made, it was so like King Charles, that Prince Borghese and Signor Dominico, to whom it belonged, agreed with me that it looked as if the statue had been made for him.

BOOK IV

OF THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II

I AM now to prosecute this work, and to give the relation of an inglorious and unprosperous reign, that was begun with great advantages, yet was so badly managed that all came in conclusion to one of the strangest catastrophes that is in any history. Such an unexpected revolution deserves to be well opened; I will do it as fully as I can.

As soon as the King was dead, orders were presently given for proclaiming his brother. But as there were few tears shed for the former, so there were as few acclamations of joy for the present King. It was a heavy solemnity, and a dead silence, without any disorder or tumult, followed it through the streets. When the Privy Councillors came back from the proclamation and waited on the new King, he made a short speech to them, wherein he began with "an expostulation for the ill opinion that had been entertained of him; promised that he would maintain the liberty and property of the subject; gave them his word that he would defend the Church, because it was a friend to monarchy; but gave them withal to understand that he would not depart from any one branch of his prerogative." And, upon the King's promise to defend the Church, a new set of addresses went round England, full of loyalty and obedience, without limitation or restriction, as the University of Oxford worded theirs; but the clergy of London taking care to insert that it should be the religion established by law, dearer to them than their lives. For this they were much taken notice of, as people who used a menacing form.

All employments ended with the death of the late King; but there were no great alterations made, except in the posts of the household, to which those who attended the King while he was Duke of York were promoted. The Earl of Rochester was declared Lord Treasurer; the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal; the Marquis of Halifax, Lord President of the Council; the Earl of Sunderland was, to the wonder of mankind, continued in his post; and Lord Godolphin put in a high station in the Queen's household.

The King had not long sat on the throne before he forgot his promise of maintaining the liberty and property of his subjects; for though the customs and additional excise were only granted to the late King for his life, and so determined with it, yet orders were sent to the commissioners to levy the customs as usual; and a form, made after the late King's death, with a false date put to it, was produced for continuing the excise, which gave but a melancholy prospect to such people as considered what the probable consequences of a reign would be that set out thus at first with fraud and violence.

Persons of all ranks went in great crowds to pay their duty to the King, Most of the Whigs that were admitted were received but coldly at best, some were reproached with their former behaviour, and others were denied access. In this and many other things the King acted without dissimulation; for, the second Sunday he came to the throne, he went openly to mass, and soon after sent Caryl to Rome with letters to the Pope, but without any public character.

In some things, however, he seemed to comply with the genius of the nation; for he declared that he would maintain the balance of Europe; would live in great confidence with the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland; would not be biassed by French counsels, but in all things act in an equality with their haughty monarch. And accordingly, when Lord Churchill was sent over to the Court of France, to give notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to observe minutely the state and ceremony wherewith he was received, that he might show the very same to him who should be sent over with the compliment. But for all these mighty boasts, the King of France used to say of him that he was willing to take his money as well as his brother had done. He promised the Queen, and his priests too, that he would see Mrs. Sedley no more, but apply to business, and live a very virtuous life. And accordingly Mrs. Sedley was ordered from her lodgings in Whitehall, though he still continued a secret connection with her; and for many hours a day he used to sit with the Council, the Treasury, and the Admiralty, and seemed very sedulous in the administration of things. And with these good appearances he began his reign.

As soon as the King had put his affairs in method, he resolved to hasten his coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence. Bishop Turner was ordered to preach his sermon; and the best thing in it was his descant on that part of Constantius Chlorus's history in which he tried who would be firm to their religion, and thence inferred that those would be faithfullest to himself who were truest to their God. Both the King and Queen resolved to have all done in the Protestant form, and to assist in all the prayers. The King, however, would not receive the sacrament, which is always a part of the ceremony; and though he took the oath as usual, yet he either did it as a sin, with a resolution not to keep it, or with a reserved meaning and construction of it in his own mind. All things were gay and pompous in the appearance; and yet, on the whole, it did not look well, though the Queen and peeresses made a very graceful figure. The crown was not well fitted for the King's head—it came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face; the canopy carried over him broke; his son by Mrs. Sedley died that day; and some other smaller things looked a little unfortunate, and, by people of superstitious fancies, were magnified into ill omens.

At the same time a Parliament was called, and much art used to manage elections so as to procure one that would please the King. In the new charters that had been granted, the choice of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restrained to the corporation men, leaving all out who were not acceptable to the Court. In some boroughs they could not find a sufficient number to depend on, and so the neighbouring gentlemen were made corporation men; and, in other places, persons of different counties, and not so much as known in the borough, were named. Nay, in the county of Cornwall, which sends up forty-four members, the very officers of the Guards were named in many charters, by which method a Parliament was returned of a very odd complexion; for, as they were neither men of parts nor estates, so there was no hope left either of working on their understandings or making them sensible of their interest. All was fury and violence in them, and a settled resolution to recommend themselves to the King by putting everything in his power, and ruining all those who had been for the Exclusion.

The continuance of the frost had shut up the Dutch ports so long, that the account of the late King's sickness and death, and of the beginning of the new King's reign, came to them all at once. The Prince of Orange was in great perplexity what to do with the Duke of Monmouth. He knew that the King would immediately ask to dismiss him, if not to deliver him up; and the States, he was sensible, would not undertake to protect him. And therefore he thought it the most prudent way to part with him at first as decently as he could, rather than incur the

King's displeasure, and stay till compulsion were put upon him. And it was well he did; for, besides the dismission of the Duke of Monmouth, the King expected of him likewise that he should break all those officers who had waited on him while he was in Holland, seeing he could not trust him, nor depend on his friendship, so long as he employed such men in his service. This was a proposal of hard digestion to the Prince; but, as the officers might easily be employed again, or allowed their appointments during their recess, it was advisable at this time to comply with it, which laid the foundation of the King's future confidence in him.

The Duke of Monmouth, in the meantime, retired to Brussels, where he knew he could not stay long, and was thinking to go to Vienna, or some other court in Germany, when those that were about him studied to enflame him both against the King and the Prince of Orange. They said that the Prince, by casting him off, had cancelled all former obligations, and that the King intended to make him a vagabond upon the face of the earth; that therefore, instead of shamefully retreating, he ought to set himself about delivering his country, and raising his party and friends, who were now likely to be very ill used for adhering to him and to his interest.

Meanwhile, the deliberations in Holland among the English and Scotch who had fled thither began to ripen faster than was expected. The Earl of Argyll had all along proposed to make an attempt in Scotland, and to raise five thousand men in his own country, which, as he imagined, would draw all the western and southern counties about him. But the grand stop of the design lay in the want of a sum of money to furnish him out, which when a zealous rich widow in Amsterdam heard of, she sent to him and supplied him with £10,000, wherewith he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, and had them put secretly on board.

The Duke of Monmouth had been secretly at their consultations, and would willingly have gone along with them himself; but, instead of offering him the command, Lord Argyll pressed him to make a descent upon England at the same time; and the little council he had about him, but chiefly Lord Grey and Lady Wentworth, were incessantly urging him to set about it. Lady Wentworth had followed him to Brussels, desperately in love with him; and both he and she came to fancy that he being married to his duchess when he was indeed of the age of consent, but not capable of a free consent, their living together was no way offensive to God, because his marriage was in itself null; and she, among others, had a great hand in persuading him that as soon as he landed, all the West would come about him; that London was in a disposition to revolt, and ready to declare for him; and that the apprehension of tumults so near the King's person would hinder him from sending any considerable force against him till he had formed an army, and was able to fight him on equal terms.

This appeared a mad and desperate undertaking to the Duke of Monmouth himself. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor officers, nor any encouragement from men of estates and interest in the country. It seemed too early yet to venture on such a design, and looked like throwing away all his hopes in one day. But Argyll's going, and the promise he had made him of coming to England in all possible haste, had fixed him so, that all further deliberations being laid aside, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms, and they were put on board a ship and freighted for Spain.

Argyll had a very prosperous voyage, and was so favoured by the winds that in a very few days he arrived in Argyllshire. But, at his landing, he found that the early notice the Council had had of his design (for the gentlemen of the country were, by their order, brought into Edinburgh), had spoiled his whole scheme. He got together, however, about five-and-twenty hundred, and with these, had he gone over to the west counties of Ayr and Renfrew, he might have given the Government much trouble; but he lingered so long in the Highlands, in the hopes of collecting more strength, that all the country was summoned to come out against him; and when he understood that a party of the King's troops had forced the castle wherein he had lodged his arms, he, apprehending all was lost, put himself in a disguise, and attempting to make his escape, was taken. The chief of the prisoners besides were Sir John Cochrane, Rumbold, and Ayloffe. Thus ended this rebellion, with the effusion of very little blood in action, and not a great deal shed in justice; for it was considered that the Highlanders were under such ties by their tenures that it was somewhat excusable in them to follow their lord.

When the Earl of Argyll was brought to Edinburgh, he expressed a cheerful calm under all his misfortunes, and no concern of conscience for what he had done. His illegal attainder, he said, had dissolved his allegiance, and it was no more than justice to himself and family to endeavour to recover what had been extorted from him, though he could not but blame the Duke of Monmouth for delaying his coming so long, and assuming the title of King, both of which were contrary to their agreement at parting. When the day of his execution came, Mr. Charteris, who had attended him in his confinement, happening to come to him as he was ending dinner, he pleasantly said, "Sero venientibus ossa." He prayed often with him, and by himself, and then went to the scaffold with great serenity, where he died pitied by all; for his death being pursuant to the sentence that was passed upon him three years before, was thought by most people no better than murder.

Cochrane had a rich father, the Earl of Dundonald, who offered the priests £5,000 to save his son, and interposed so effectually that the bargain was made. However, to cover it, he was made to petition the Council that he might be sent to the King, having some secrets of great consequence, which were to be communicated to none but him. The Council accordingly sent him, and when he had been some time in private with the King, it was pretended that the importance of his discoveries had merited his pardon, and so he was let go.

Rumbold was the man who dwelt at the Rye House, where the plot was laid for murdering the late and present King; and when he came to die, he denied the truth of that conspiracy, though he did acknowledge that many propositions had been started in West's chambers about killing the two brothers, about the commodiousness of his house for the purpose, and the manner in which it might be managed; but he affirmed it was nothing but talk, nor was ever any step towards execution so much as resolved on. He declared he was for no commonwealth, but a kingly government, according to the laws of England; but then his opinion was that the ties between prince and people were mutual, and that, if one depart from the legal measures of government, the other had a right to assert their liberties and restrain him; for it could never enter into his thoughts, as he expressed it, that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest.

Ayloffe, another English gentleman, and nephew to the old Earl of Clarendon by marriage, to prevent the course of justice, had stabbed himself with a penknife in several places, but not mortally; whereupon he was sent up to London, as capable of making great discoveries. But the King could draw nothing from him, though he told him it was in his power to pardon him; but only this severe repartee, that he knew it was in his power, but not in his nature to pardon. And accordingly it proved, for he suffered with the rest.

Upon the Earl of Argyll's execution a Parliament was held in Scotland, and the Marquis of Queensberry, soon after made a duke, was appointed the King's Commissioner. He was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, and seeing the King's inclination to such measures, he thought to have recommended himself effectually by being an instrument in setting up an absolute and despotic form of government. To this purpose he proposed an instruction obliging all people to take the Test under pain of high treason, and projected severe laws that left an arbitrary power in the Privy Council. But, without delivering up his religion likewise, which he was resolved to maintain, he found at last that all would not satisfy the King's expectations.

The Parliament did not sit long, for all matters went on without opposition. The Duke of Queensberry gave very full assurances on the point of religion that the King would not alter it; and the Parliament, in return, gave the King for life all the revenues that had been given his brother, with some additional taxes. But there was one particular act that was both the shame and iniquity of this session.

When Carstairs was put to the torture, he gained a promise of the Council, before he would discover anything, that no use should be made of his deposition against any man whatever. In his deposition he said something that affected Sir Hugh Campbell and his son with high treason. They had been taken up in London two years before, been all that while kept close prisoners, and the Earl of Melfort had got the promise of their estate, which was worth £1,000 a year, as soon as they should be convicted. So now an act passed which was to last but for six weeks, "that if within that time any of the Privy Council could depose that any man was proved to be guilty of treason, he should, upon such proof, be attainted." Hereupon the two Campbells were produced and brought to the bar, to show cause why sentence should not be executed. The old gentleman, then near eighty, seeing the ruin of his family was determined, took courage, and said "that the oppression they had laboured under had driven them to despair, and made them think of means to secure their lives and liberties; that upon this occasion they had gone to London, had some meetings with Baillie and others, but that they had sent down one to hinder all risings, and had refused the oath of secrecy that had been offered to them." This was called a confession of their crime; and though they were pardoned out of a show of mercy, yet Lord Melford possessed himself of their estate, and the old gentleman died soon after, heart-broken with his long imprisonment and this most abominable conclusion of it.

There were the like severe proceedings in the courts of justice in England as there were in the Scottish Council. For Oates, being convicted of perjury by the testimony of the witnesses from St. Omer's, who had been brought over before to discredit his, but were not believed by the jury then, was condemned to have his priestly habit taken from him; to be a prisoner for life; to be set in the pillory in all the public places of the City: after that to be set in the pillory four times a year during his life; and to be whipped by the common hangman from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn the next. His whipping was performed with so much rigour that his back seemed to be all over flayed; but, as he was an original in all things, he bore it with a constancy that amazed all who saw him.

Dangerfield, another witness in the Popish plot, was sentenced to the same punishment. But it had a more terrible conclusion in him; for, just as he had got his last lash, a student of the law, transported with the heat of the times, gave him such a blow on his head with his cane that he died immediately. The person was apprehended, and being left to the course of the law, notwithstanding all intercessions for his life, he was executed.

When the Parliament met, the King's speech ran much upon the same subject as did that to the Council upon his first accession to the throne, only he added that it was a wrong notion to think of having frequent Parliaments by keeping him low—their way to compass that was to be liberal, and use him well. And accordingly the revenue was not only granted for life, but everything that was asked given with such readiness, that the King was ashamed not to stop the profusion of the Commons by a message to the House that he desired no more that session. And what is very remarkable, the persons who had such propensity to give in this reign were set on by Musgrave and others, who pretended afterwards to be frugal patriots and careful managers of the public treasure.

This propensity to serve the Court made others mention something in the way of an additional security to the Protestant religion; but it was carried in the House that to take the King's word in that matter would be a tie upon his honour, and gain his heart so entirely that it would avail more than all laws whatever. And accordingly, in their address to the King, they expressed a singular satisfaction in the promise he had given them, under which they thought themselves and their religion entirely safe.

When petitions concerning elections were presented, Seymour spoke very high, and with great weight, that irregularities in elections had been so flagrant as to make some men question whether this was a true representative of the nation or not, and that the petitioners had little reason to expect justice where so many were too guilty to judge impartially. But the charge was so true and so general at that time, that no one had the innocence or assurance to second him.

The courtiers, on the other hand, were projecting many laws to ruin all who opposed their designs, and had brought in a bill declaring words spoken against the King or his government to be treason; which Serjeant Maynard opposed with great weight of argument, showing the inconvenience thereof, and hoping, as he concluded, that they would keep to the law of the 25th of Edward III., by which an overt act was made the proof of ill intentions. But though this made some stand for the present, yet, had not the Duke of Monmouth's landing put this session to a speedy conclusion, it is certain that everything of this nature would have passed. The House of Lords, however, were more reserved; they did justice to the Popish lords who were in the Tower; and, when the Commons waved their impeachment, set them at liberty. But they stuck at reversing the attainder of the Lord Stafford, as being loath to condemn past proceedings.

While things were in this agitation, the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire; and he, with his small company, which consisted but of eighty-two persons, came on shore in good order, but with too much daylight, which discovered how few they were; and, upon the report and belief of the thing, an act of attainder passed both Houses in one day; a sum of money was set on his head; and with that the session of Parliament ended.

Upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing, he published a Manifesto, wherein he charged the King with burning London, with the Popish plot, with Godfrey's murder, with the Earl of Essex's death, with poisoning the King, with taking away the old charter, and all other hard things done in the last reign. He set forth that the King's religion made him incapable of the crown; that three Houses of Parliament had successively voted his exclusion; that the present Parliament was no proper representative of the people; that his pretensions should be submitted to the determination of a free Parliament; and that liberty, both in spirituals and temporals, should be given to men of all persuasions. But the Declaration was heavy and dull, full of black malice, and tedious long periods, which showed it to be Ferguson's composing.

But for all the dulness of his Declaration, he had soon men enough about him (though few of the gentry came in to him) to employ all his arms. He took great pains in training and animating them, and was himself so obliging in his behaviour that he became master of all their hearts. But he quickly found what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men who knew nothing of war and were unaccustomed to rigour.

Lord Grey, soon after their landing, had given too visible a proof of his cowardice to have the command of the horse (as it was designed) committed to him alone, and therefore the Duke intended to have joined Fletcher, a Scotch gentleman of great parts and many virtues, but extravagantly passionate, in the command with him. But he met with a sad disappointment. Fletcher was ordered out one day with a party, and having no horse ready, took the first that came in his way, which chanced to belong to a person that had brought in a good body of men from Taunton. Upon his return the owner of the horse reproached him in very injurious terms, which the other bore longer than could have been expected from his impetuous temper; but when the man persisted in his foul language, and attempted to strike him, Fletcher unhappily drew a pistol and shot him dead. The country-people were coming in a body to demand justice, so that Fletcher was obliged to make his escape.

The great error in the Duke's conduct was, that while the country was open, and the militia in no great disposition to oppose him, he did not immediately enter upon some hardy action, and then march directly either to Bristol or Exeter, where he would have found a sufficient support, instead of lingering, as he did, in the neighbourhood of Lyme until the forces from Scotland employed against Argyll, and the regiments that were in the service of the States, were all sent over, and marching down against him.

The Prince of Orange, when he sent over the forces, offered in his own person to come and fight in defence of the King; but the King, with great expressions of acknowledgment, refused it. The King of France offered him, in like manner, some assistance; but, for fear of disgusting the nation, he would not accept it. He himself seemed not inclinable to take the command of the army upon him; the Prince of Denmark had it not offered him, and did not ask it; and so the Earl of Feversham, who was of French parentage, and nephew to M. de Turenne, an honest, brave, and good-natured man, but extremely weak withal, had it conferred upon him.

The Duke of Monmouth now began to find his mistake in staying so long about Lyme, and was under a necessity (being straitened sore for want of bread) to come to a speedy decision. He had laid a design to surprise Lord Feversham (who took no care to have parties out abroad to bring in intelligence) while he and his army were asleep; but being misled in his march, whereby he lost an hour, and stopped a considerable time in passing a ditch, the King's forces took the alarm, and had time to dress and put themselves in order before he came upon them. His army at most was but between five and six thousand men; the small body of horse ran upon the first charge, which was imputed to Lord Grey's want of courage; the foot stood longer than could be expected, but being forsaken by the horse, and galled by the enemy's cannon, they ran at last. About a thousand were slain and five hundred taken prisoners, and the Duke himself quitted the field sooner than might have been expected in a man of his courage and pretensions; for he suffered himself a few days before to be called king. He rode towards Dorsetshire as far as his horse would carry him. When that was tired he changed clothes with a shepherd, and went on foot till he was weary, accompanied with none but a German, whom he had brought over with him. The party that pursued first found the shepherd in the Duke's clothes, who showed them the way he took, and came afterwards to the German, who pointed at the place where he lay; for he had covered himself with some hay in a field, in hopes to lie unseen till night, and then endeavour a farther escape.

When he was taken out of this cover, his body was so sunk with fatigue and his mind dejected with fear, that he asked his life in a manner not agreeable with the former part of it. He wrote to the Earl of Feversham and to the Queen and Queen Dowager to intercede for his life; and when he came before the King he made new and unbecoming submissions, with some insinuations of a readiness to change his religion. But all would not do; the King's temper, as well as interest, would not suffer him to pardon him; and so on Wednesday, the second day after his examination, orders were given for his execution.

The two divines appointed to attend him were Turner and Ken, the Bishops of Ely and of Bath and Wells. They endeavoured to convince him of the sin of rebellion, and of the sin of adultery, in living with the Lady Wentworth in the manner he had done; but he seemed very insensible of either, though he was sorry, he said, for the blood that was spilled in the one case, and made his marrying so young the excuse for his transgressing in the other. He showed great neglect of his duchess, and her resentment of his ill-usage made her part with him with a good deal of indifference. He begged one day more of life with much importunity; but when he found it was to no purpose, he composed himself to die. His whole behaviour was easy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulness. He prayed God to forgive him all his sins, unknown as well as known, seemed confident in his infinite mercies, and went to the place of execution, on Tower Hill, with an air of undisturbed courage. His speech to the people was very short. He gave the executioner a very great charge to dispatch him quickly, and left him as much more money in his servant's hands if he cut off his head cleverly; but the executioner was in such disorder and trembling all over, that, when he had given him two or three strokes without finishing the matter, he threw away the axe; but the Sheriff forcing him to take it up again, at three or four strokes more he severed his head from his body.

Thus died this unfortunate young man, who had several good qualities and some very bad ones. He was soft and gentle even to excess, was sincere and good-natured, and understood war well; but he was immoderately given to pleasure and favourites. Lord Grey compounded for his life at a very high rate, and upon inglorious conditions; for he was a witness for the conviction of others, though a promise was made him that none should die upon his evidence. Hampden was prevailed on to plead guilty, and begged his life with such meanness as himself was ashamed of afterwards, and could never get over the depressions it brought upon his spirits, which in the end had a terrible conclusion, for about ten years after he cut his own throat.

Had the King improved the advantage of this conjuncture by a speedy execution of such as were fit to be made public examples, and by a general indemnity to the rest, he had laid the foundation of peace and tranquillity in the kingdom; but, instead of that, his army was kept for some time in the western counties, where they lived at free quarters, and treated all that they thought disaffected with rudeness and violence insufferable.

Kirk, who had commanded long at Tangiers, was by the neighbourhood of the Moors become so savage, that some days after the battle he ordered several prisoners at Taunton to be hanged up; and being then at an entertainment, as every new health was drunk he had a fresh man turned off; and observing how they shaked their legs in the agonies of death, he called it dancing, and ordered music to play to them. Jeffreys went the circuit to try the prisoners. He hanged about six hundred persons, and persuaded many who had a good defence in the law to plead guilty in hopes of pardon; but, instead of that, he had them executed instantly, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers; and the King was so well pleased with his proceedings, that when he came back from so much bloodshed he created him a baron and peer of England.

Among other severities of this time there were two executions of a very remarkable nature. One Gaunt, a woman who was an Anabaptist in London, but singularly charitable to people of all professions, harboured one of the rebels in her house, and was contriving means for him to make his escape beyond sea, when, by an unheard-of baseness, he went and delivered himself, and accused her who harboured him.

The King had declared that he would look upon those who harboured rebels as more criminal than the rebels themselves. The woman accordingly was seized and tried, and though the crime of harbouring a traitor was only proved against her by this infamous evidence, yet she was condemned and burned, as the law directs in case of a woman convicted of treason. She died with a constancy, or even with a cheerfulness, that struck amazement into the spectators, rejoicing that God had honoured her to be the first who suffered by fire in that reign, and that her suffering was a martyrdom, rather than anything else, for that religion which taught her charity and was all love.

Lady Lisle's husband had been a regicide, and was one of Cromwell's lords; but at the Restoration he went beyond sea, and lived at Lausanne, where three desperate Irishmen, in hopes of raising their fortunes by such service, killed him as he was going to church, and being well mounted and ill pursued, got into France. His lady was a woman of great piety and charity, and a contrary principle to him, for she was much affected with the King's death, and not easily reconciled to her husband for the share he had in it. Hicks, a violent preacher among the Dissenters, and one Nelthorp, came the night after the battle to her house. As soon as she understood they had been with Monmouth, she ordered her servant to carry an information concerning them to the next justice of peace, but in the meanwhile to suffer them to make their escape. But before this was done, a party came about the house, and took both them and her for harbouring them. There was no legal proof brought that she knew them to be rebels: their names were in no proclamation, and it was insisted on as a point of law that till the persons found in her house were convicted she could not be guilty. But, for all this, Jeffreys charged the jury in a most violent manner to find her guilty; and though twice they brought her in not guilty, yet when he threatened them with an attaint of jury they were overcome with fear, and brought her in the third time guilty. Jeffreys had obtained of the King a promise that he would not pardon her; so that all the favour shown her was the changing of her sentence from burning to beheading, under which she died with great constancy of mind.

Most of those who suffered on this occasion expressed at their death such a calmness and such a zeal for their religion, which they believed to be in danger, as made great impression on the spectators, though some of them were base enough to endeavour to save themselves by accusing others. Goodenough, who had been Under-Sheriff of London the year that Cornish was Sheriff, joined with Rumsey to swear Cornish guilty of that for which Lord Russell had suffered; and the matter was driven on so fast, that he was seized, tried, and executed within the week. When he came to die he asserted his innocence with great vehemence, and with some acrimony complained of the methods taken to destroy him; and his innocence so clearly appeared soon after his execution, that his estate was restored to his family, and the two witnesses were sent to remote prisons for life.[1]

The King had raised new regiments and given some commissions to Papists, which, during the time of danger, wherein every one's service was acceptable, was overlooked; but now, that time being expired, their commissions, which were expected to cease, were nevertheless continued, and the King declared openly that he must look on all those who would not consent to the repeal of such laws as excluded them from offices in the next session of Parliament to be his enemies; and in one instance, to teach his subjects his intention, he dismissed the Marquis of Halifax, because he refused to consent to such repeal, from being President of the Council, and put Lord Sunderland, who at the same time was continued Secretary of State, in that post.

In Scotland the Duke of Queensberry was not only turned out of all his employments, upon suggestions of his great zeal against Popery by the Earls of Perth and Melfort, who were lately turned Papists, but a deep design was likewise laid to ruin him, and encouragement given to all persons to bring accusations against him, either with relation to the administration of the Government or of the Treasury. In Ireland the Duke of Ormonde had been a great curb and impediment to the Papists, and the Archbishop of Armagh, though very compliant to the Court in other respects, was not thought thorough-paced enough at this conjuncture; and therefore Sir Charles Porter, who was a zealous promoter of everything that the King proposed, a man of ready wit, but being very poor, was thought a fit person to be made a tool of, was declared Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Clarendon, whose poverty equally qualified him for the service, was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but the army was put under Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, which he soon began to new model.

When the administration was everywhere put in such hands as were disposed to carry out the measures at Court, the next design was to obtain a repeal of the acts that excluded all Papists from public offices, and a parliamentary establishment for a general toleration. But before we come to relate the attempts that were made that way, it may not be improper to mention a remarkable transaction abroad, that made a great impression on all men's minds, and conduced in some measure to defeat them.

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[1] Swift noted in his copy of "Burnet's Own Times" that Goodenough after this retired to Ireland, and practised as an attorney.

For some years the priests were everywhere making conversions in France. The hopes of pensions and preferments wrought on many, the plausible colours that the Bishop of Meaux put on the errors of Rome deluded some, and the resolution that the King had taken to have his subjects all of one religion prevailed with others to conform. But all this brought in but a small number.

Those who were for a toleration in matters of religion objected to the King how happy France had been for this fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the great quiet it was in with relation to these matters; how great numbers of people, wealthy and industrious, and all contributing to the public revenue, would leave the kingdom, and transplant their wealth and industry into other countries in case any force were put upon their consciences; how the Court of Rome, upon the removal of such men, would grow as absolute in France as it was in Spain, forasmuch as nothing was so effectual a check to its usurpations on any kingdom as a number of dissenters from its communion allowed to live quietly in it; how the experiment at last would become fatal to the peace of the kingdom, would precipitate some into desperate courses, and so change a most glorious reign into a dismal scene of blood and horror.

This old Rouvigny, who was then Deputy-General of the Churches, laid before the King in a full audience; but the King, by the instigation of the Bishop of Paris and his confessor, was so fixed in his purposes to the contrary, that though he hoped the matter would not proceed to bloodshedding, yet he considered himself so indispensably bound, he said, to endeavour the conversion of his subjects and the extirpation of heresy, that if cutting off one of his own hands with the other were necessary to effect it, he would willingly submit to it.

M. de Louvoy, when he saw the King thus immovable in his resolution, put him upon an experiment that he thought would cut the matter short and prove effectual, which was to let loose some bodies of dragoons to live upon the Protestants at discretion. The experiment was begun in Berne, and having there all imaginable success, was carried on to most places of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphiné, where the greatest number of Protestants were; and they, overcome with the fear and consternation of a military execution, did pretty generally comply. Upon these compliances the King published an edict repealing the Edict of Nantes (though that was declared to be a law perpetual and irrevocable), and whoever refused to be of the King's religion after this was treated with great severity.

Men and women of all ages were not only stripped of all they had, but driven from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, where they were starved, whipped, and barbarously used; the men were condemned to the galleys; and even the new converts, if they received not the sacrament at their death, were denied burial, and thrown out among other dead carcasses, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. And all this the greatest part of the clergy, the Regulars especially, admired so mightily in their King, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that could be invented, to the glory of his zeal, in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me.[1]

[1] I stayed at Paris till the beginning of August. Barillon sent me word that the King had some suspicion of me, and bid me look to myself; but I determined not to stir from Paris till the prisoners taken in Monmouth's rebellion had been examined and tried. When that was over, General Stouppe told me in confidence that M. de Louvoy had said to him that the King was resolved to put an end to the business of the Huguenots that season, adding that M. de Louvoy, as the General would not change his creed, had recommended him to make a tour of Italy; so we resolved to make that journey together. From the day after I came to Rome, Pope Innocent XI., Odescalchi, who knew who I was, sent to me, offering me a private audience in bed, to save me from the ceremony of the pantoufle; but knowing the noise this would make, I declined it. Cardinal Howard and Cardinal d'Estrées treated me with great kindness, and I had a discourse with the latter about the validity of the Church of England's ordination, which he admitted was canonical and regular in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Cardinal Howard treated me with much civility, and committed advices of great importance from England to Rome, and from thence to England, to my care. I stayed in Rome till Prince Borghese came to me and told me it was time for me to go, as, though I never provoked discussion, I always boldly argued with those who opposed our Protestant principles. After leaving Rome I continued my journey through the southern parts of France till I came to Geneva and Switzerland, where I stayed three or four months. I also stayed among the Lutherans at Strasburg and Frankfort, and among the Calvinists at Heidelberg and in Holland, and was acquainted with most of their eminent men. Though they were all in danger at that time of having their religion extirpated, yet they kept up their old contests with more eagerness than ever; and though they were well enough qualified in the knowledge of the Scriptures, original tongues, and points of controversy, and attended diligently on their flocks, yet they were but dry preachers, careless and indevout readers, and in some things, wherein they placed an orthodoxy, superstitious to a fault. Upon reaching Utrecht, I found letters from some of the Prince of Orange's Court, inviting me to reside at the Hague, where I was received with great kindness by the Prince and Princess. I had much private discourse with them, and in many instances was much trusted by them.

This persecution in France drove many people of the neighbouring places into Orange, which was then a distinct principality belonging to the Prince of Orange by an article of the treaty of Nimeguen, whereof the King of England was guarantee. Upon this the King of France not only wrote a letter to the Government there, requiring them to put all his subjects out of their territory (which they did), but ordered Tesse, who commanded in those parts, to march his dragoons likewise into the town, and use them in the same manner as he had done the subjects of France, forcing them to comply in point of religion; and not many months after he united Orange to the rest of Provence, suppressing all the rights it had as a distinct principality, notwithstanding the several memorials that the Prince of Orange gave in to the Court of England for redress.

Among other places whereunto the Protestants from France were forced to flee, great numbers came over into England (first and last there were between forty and fifty thousand of them), and made a most dismal recital of the persecution. The King did all he could to suppress the clamour of it, speaking publicly against it with a vehemence that favoured of affectation, distributed much money to several of them himself, ordering a brief for a charitable collection for them over the nation, and ordering them to be denised without paying fees, with other great and valuable immunities; but this was too glaring an instance of a cruel and persecuting spirit in Popery to be stifled, and came before the beginning of a Parliament very seasonably to open the eyes of the nation.

When the Parliament was opened, the King told them "how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, wherein it appeared how insignificant the militia was, and how necessary an army would be for all their security; that he had put some in commission of whose loyalty he was well assured; that they had served him faithfully; and therefore he hoped they would not put such an affront on both him and them as to turn them out; that a good understanding between him and his Parliament was a happiness that the world saw and they all felt; and therefore he hoped again that as he on his part had observed all he had promised, they on theirs would do nothing to interrupt it."

As soon as the King's speech was ended, there were some debates in the House of Lords about thanking him for it. The courtiers pressed it as a piece of respect that was always paid; and the Earl of Devonshire said he was for giving thanks because the King had spoke out so plainly, and forewarned them of what they were to expect—a standing army and a violation of the Test Act. It was carried, however, in that House for an address of thanks for the speech; but in the House of Commons, where the debates were more solemn and important, instead of any thanks, an address was unanimously voted to the King that he would maintain the laws, particularly that concerning the Test, on which condition they would pass a bill indemnifying those who had broken that law, and were ready to consider their service in the supply they intended to give.

The King expressed his resentment of this with much vehemence when the address was brought to him; but notwithstanding his angry answer, the Commons were resolved to insist on their address, though they thought proper to send one Cook, who in the heat of a dispute chanced to say that they were Englishmen, and not to be threatened, to the Tower, and to oblige him to ask pardon for such indecent words.

In the House of Lords, upon the death of Lord Guildford (which nothing but his successor made to be remembered with regret), Jeffreys was advanced to the Seals; and when the parts of the King's speech came to be debated and remarked upon, he began to talk in his rough manner, but was soon taken down, and received as great a mortification as such a brutal man was capable of. The truth is, all who argued for the repeal had no more to say than this—that it was against the rights of the Crown to deny the King the service of all his subjects, and an insufferable affront done him to oblige all those whom he should employ to swear his religion was idolatrous; whereas those on the other side declared (and among these Compton, Bishop of London, spoke not only as his own sense, but as the sense of the whole bench) that the Test was the best fence they had for their religion, which, if once given up, all the rest would follow; and that if the King might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and, above all, with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more; the Government would then become absolute and arbitrary.

When the King saw that both Houses were now so fixed that nothing could be carried in either unless he would depart from his speech, he prorogued the Parliament, and by frequent prorogations kept it still on foot for about a year and a half without ever holding a session. It was now that the term of "closeting" came to be in use; for the King was wont to call most of those who had either spoken or voted for the Test into his closet, and there talk very earnestly to them upon the subject. Some gave him flat and hardy denials; others were more silent, but no less steady. But among those who positively denied him, the story of Admiral Herbert (considering his manner of life and former zeal for the King's service) was the most remarkable. When the King pressed him to promise that he would vote the repeal of the Test, and he answered plainly that he could not do it either in honour or conscience, the King said he knew him to be a man of honour, but the course of his life did not bespeak so great a regard to conscience; whereupon he boldly replied that though he had his faults, yet they were such as those who talked more of conscience were equally guilty of; and though he was poor, and had much to lose (having places to the value of £4,000 a year), yet he would choose to lose them all rather than comply. Whereupon, the King perceiving that neither promises nor threats would prevail upon such inflexible tempers, he dismissed them from their places, and dissolved the Parliament.

Soon after the prorogation of the Parliament the Lord Delamere was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore high treason against him, in that he designed to raise a rebellion in Cheshire and to join with the Duke of Monmouth; but this being sworn only upon a report, was not admitted as any evidence in law. One witness swore home against him that he and two more had given him treasonable messages to carry to some others in Cheshire; but the two gentlemen making it appear by unquestionable proof that they were all the while never out of London, the single evidence was discredited, though there was this circumstance to support him, that the Lord Delamere did secretly go from London into Cheshire at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, and after a stay of two or three days in the country did as secretly return to London. But he pretending that the secrecy of his journey was to prevent confinement (he having a long time been prisoner in the Tower upon bare suspicion), and the true purpose to visit his children, who were actually in these different places, sick (as was well attested by his physicians and domestics), the Lords unanimously acquitted him, to the great joy of the town, notwithstanding the Solicitor-General Finch, pursuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, made a violent declamation to prove that one witness, with presumptions, was sufficient to convict a man of high treason.

This was the first year of King James II.'s reign, and a fatal year it was to the Protestant religion. In February the King of England declared himself a Papist. In June, Charles, the Elector Palatine, dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Neuburg, a most bigoted Popish family. In October the King of France recalled and vacated the Edict of Nantes. In December the Duke of Savoy recalled the edict which his father had granted to the Vaudois; and in England, again, the King was for annulling the only security which his subjects had against Popery, and setting up a dispensing power, which he afterwards, in the following manner, accomplished.

Sir Edward Hales, a gentleman of a noble family in Kent, declared himself a Papist, and not taking the Test according to the statute, his coachman was set up to inform against him, and to claim the £500 that the law gave to the informer. As the cause came nearer to a trial the judges' opinions were sifted, and such as would not comply with the Court were instantly turned out, and those of a more obedient understanding put in their places. Among these, Sir Edward Herbert,[1] a well-bred man, generous and good-natured, whose gravity and virtues, and chiefly his succeeding such a monster [2] as had gone before him, gave him great advantages, though he had but small knowledge of law, with a set of high notions relating to the King's prerogative, to recommend him, was made at once Lord Chief Justice without any application of his own. So that when the coachman's cause came to be argued (which was done with a most indecent coldness by such as were appointed to expose and betray it), it was said in favour of the prerogative that the government of England was entirely in the King; that the crown was an imperial, meaning an absolute, crown, and that all penal laws were powers lodged in it only to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up his power; that acts of Parliament had been often superseded; and that, as the King could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, so he might, by the same reason, dispense with the laws themselves.

These were the arguments for the King's dispensing power, which, how weak and ludicrous soever, were not answered at the bar, although every one was sensible that since the prerogative was limited by law, and the penalties in the act were declared indispensable without a repeal from the whole legislature, it was overturning the Government to say that the Prince might dispense with them; that since in the Test Act a fine was set upon the offender, and given to the informer, the King could no more pardon that than he could take away men's property; that though laws of small consequence, where there was a manifest error in their composition, might be superseded, yet it was not fit to use the same practice in a law whereon the security of the whole Government depended, and which was made on purpose to exclude the prerogative; and that if such a law might be dispensed with, another might be the same, and so by degrees the whole constitution soon dissolved.

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[1] Brother of Admiral Herbert.

[2] Jeffreys.

These were arguments in every one's mouth, and obvious to common reason. But the judges, who were determined beforehand how to square their opinions, gave their judgment for the defendant, without giving any reasons to support it, as if it had been in a common cause. By this determination a door was now opened, and all regard to the Test was laid aside, insomuch that those who intended to recommend themselves took employment, and accepted of the King's dispensing power, among which were some Protestants, though the far greater number of them continued to qualify themselves according to law.

The King having thus broken through the Test Act by the force of his dispensing power, made it his next endeavour to introduce a universal toleration of religion, thereby the sooner to establish his own. For this purpose he used to enlarge, with a great variety of topics, on the policy, the reasonableness, and Christianity of such a toleration, and blamed the Church of England much for inflicting severities on Dissenters. Their preachers were now encouraged to set up conventicles; intimations were given that none should be molested in their public worship; and, to make all whole again, Herbert was sent down into the West, after Jeffrey's bloody circuit, to pity and disavow the past persecutions of the Dissenters, and to offer everything that could alleviate their sufferings. Upon this encouragement, some of them began to grow insolent, but the wiser men amongst them perceived what ill designs lay hid under all this sudden show of grace and kindness.

The clergy of the Church of England, at this conjuncture, acted a part that very well became them. They began generally to preach against Popery, which the Dissenters did not; and examined into all points of controversy between us and the Church of Rome, with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of argument, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing far exceeding anything that before that time had appeared in our language. And when the writers on the other side were disguising the malignity of Popery, to make it more plausible among the people, they defeated their design in this by inquiring into the true opinions of their Church, as they were laid down in books of authority among them, viz., the decisions of Councils, and the established offices at Rome and other Popish countries, and not as they were misrepresented by artful writers. And this they did in so convincing a manner that the whole mystery of Popery was detected, and the nation let into a fuller understanding of it than ever. The truth is, the writers on the other side were perhaps a set of the weakest that ever appeared in the defence of Popery; for their books were poorly but insolently written, and had no learning in them but what was borrowed from French authors, and put into very bad English; so that a victory over them need not to have been so complete a performance, though the writers[1] against them were certainly some of the ablest, and their pieces the most finished of any that ever appeared on the Protestant side.

The Popish priests, seeing their religion thus exposed and themselves baffled in all their arguments, were enraged out of measure, and prevailed with the King to proceed severely against some popular preachers, in order to intimidate the rest. Dr. Sharp, then rector of St. Giles's, a very pious man, and who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal, had, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him by an unknown hand, containing a sort of a challenge upon some points of controversy touched upon by him in some of his sermons. The doctor answered the paper in the next Sunday's sermon, and when he had confuted it, showed the unreasonableness of a Protestant's changing his religion on such incompetent grounds. This was carried to Court as a reflection on the King for changing his; and upon this, Compton, the Bishop of London, was required, in the King's name, to suspend Sharp immediately, and then to examine into the matter. But the Bishop answered that he had no power to proceed in such a summary way; that he would desire Sharp, indeed, to abstain from officiating till the matter was better understood; but to lay such a censure as suspension was on a clergyman, without proof in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and justice, and what he could not do. Whereupon they resolved to proceed against the Bishop for contempt, but in what manner to do it was the question.

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[1] The chief of which were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, and Patrick. Next to them were Sherlock, Williams, Claget, Gee, Aldrich, Atterbury, Whitby, Hooper; and above all, Wake, now Archbishop of Canterbury, who being long in France, chaplain to Lord Preston, brought over with him many curious discoveries that were both useful and surprising.

Jeffreys, at this pinch, came to their relief; and, by a bold stretch of the prerogative, advised the setting up an Ecclesiastical Commission (which might be called no more than a standing Court of Delegates), though with full power to proceed in a summary manner, without limitations from any rule of law in their proceedings. The advice was taken, and the persons with whom the power was lodged were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chief Justice—the Lord Chancellor being made President of the Court *sine quâ non*. The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the first opening of the court, sent his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, because he judged it contrary to law.[1] But Durham was lifted up with the thoughts of it, saying that his name would now be recorded in history; and Rochester, in hopes of succeeding Dolben in the archbishopric of York, showed no great averseness to the office.

When the Bishop of London appeared before the court (for he was the first person that was summoned), he came attended with a great train of persons of quality, which gave a fresh offence, and desired a copy of the commission that authorised them to judge him, for he said their court was a new thing. And when he came to make his defence, he first excepted to the authority of the court, as contrary to the express words of the act of Parliament that put down the High Commission, and then justified his own conduct, in that he had silenced Dr. Sharp, though he could not suspend him, or lay any censure on him, without a proper process, which he confirmed by the practice of all Ecclesiastical Courts, as well as the judgment of lawyers. But all arguments are unavailable when the sentence is determined beforehand.

The Chancellor and the poor-spirited Bishop of Durham were for suspending him during the King's pleasure; the Earl and the Bishop of Rochester, and the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, were for acquitting him; but when the Earl of Rochester was given to understand that he must either concur in the sentence or part with the white staff, interest prevailed, and the Bishop was suspended *ab officio*. This, however, was but a poor triumph to the Court, as it made the Bishop more popular, more respected by his clergy, and more considerable in his character abroad; for the Princess of Orange (in that he had both confirmed and married her) wrote a letter of intercession to the King, for which she was sharply reproved, and another of condolence to him (as did likewise the Prince), expressing the great share they both of them took in the trouble that had befallen him.

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[1] The act that put down the High Commission in 1640 provided, by a clause as full as could be conceived, that no courts of the like nature, besides the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts, should at any time be set up.

Affairs in Scotland went on much at the same rate as they did in England. The King sent down the Earl of Murray, a convert to the Roman religion, to be his Commissioner to hold a Parliament; and recommended to them, in most earnest words, the repealing of all penal laws and tests in relation to religion. But there were two accidents, a little before the opening of the Parliament, that made a great impression upon men's minds, and were a probable means of preventing any relaxation of the laws against Popery. Whitford, son to one of the bishops, before the wars, was the person who killed Darislaus in Holland. He, to get out of Cromwell's reach, turned Papist, went into the Duke of Savoy's service, and was there when the last massacre was committed on the Vaudois. At the Restoration he returned to Scotland, and, a few days before the Parliament met, died, declaring his renunciation of Popery and abhorrence of its cruelties. He said he had been guilty of some execrable murders in Piedmont, both of women and children, which had pursued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever since; that he had gone to priests of all sorts, the strictest as well as the easiest, to ask their advice upon his case; that they had all justified him in what he had done, and given him absolution, but his conscience pursued him so, that he died in despair, crying out against that sanguinary religion.

The other instance was in Sir Robert Sibbald, doctor of physic, and the most learned antiquary in Scotland. He had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubt as to revealed religion, and was prevailed on by the Earl of Perth to turn to the Church of Rome without any previous examination of her principles; but, when he came to search into them, he was so fully convinced of the errors of Popery, that he could not be at quiet till he had published his recantation openly in a church. The Bishop of Edinburgh was so far a courtier that, for fear of noise and giving offence, he sent him to a country church to do it. But the recantation of so learned a man, after so much study and mature deliberation, had nevertheless a great effect upon many, insomuch that the Parliament, notwithstanding all the art that was used to carry a total abolition of the penal laws, in compliance with the King's letter, could be brought to nothing further than to consent to a suspension of them during the King's lifetime only; which the King, despising to accept of, dissolved the Parliament, and, soon after that, turned out the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Dunkeld for opposing his desire in this particular; put Paterson, for his great indication of zeal, into Glasgow, and made one Hamilton, noted for profaneness and impiety that sometimes broke out into blasphemy, Bishop of Dunkeld.

The nation now began to return again to its old zeal against Popery, and in some instances to show its aversion to it. The Earl of Perth had prevailed with his lady, as she was dying, to change her religion; and, in a few weeks after, married very indecently, and without a dispensation from the Pope (which he could hardly afterwards obtain), his first cousin, the Duke of Gordon's sister, and had set up a private chapel in the Court for mass, which was not kept so private but that many frequented it. This alarmed the people of Edinburgh, and the rabble broke in with such violence one day, that they defaced everything in it, and had not the Earl himself been conveyed away in disguise, he had probably fallen a sacrifice to popular fury. Some of the rabble, however, were taken, and one of the ringleaders executed for it, who, when he came to die, told the minister who attended him that his life had been offered him if he would have accused the Duke of Queensberry as the instigator of the tumult, but that he refused it upon the condition of so false a calumny. The minister went from the execution to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and told him what had passed. The Archbishop acquainted the Duke of Queensberry with it; the Duke complained to the King of it; the King ordered an examination into it; and the poor minister, having no witness to attest what the criminal had said to him, was declared the forger of the calumny, and turned out of his preferment; but the consequence was, that the minister's evidence was believed, and as his misfortune was pitied, so the Earl of Perth's malice and treachery were as much detested.

In Ireland things went on more to the King's mind; for, though the Earl of Clarendon, upon his first coming over, gave public and positive assurances that the King would maintain their Act of Settlement, and proceeded himself accordingly, yet the Earl of Tyrconnell not only put Irish Papists into such posts in the army as became vacant, but, upon the slightest pretence, broke the English Protestant officers, and in conclusion, without so much as pretending any excuse, turned them all out at once. This occasioned uneasy apprehensions in the people, and complaints to the Lord Clarendon; which when he represented to the King, the King recalled him, and made the Earl of Tyrconnel Lord-Lieutenant in his stead. This struck the people with anxiety and terror, when they saw a man of his temper so absolutely trusted and depended on by the Irish, capable of the boldest undertakings, and of the cruellest execution, have now the government put entirely in his hands. But the King knew what he did. He was resolved to govern by a military force, and to have no more to do with Parliaments. If, therefore, his army should fail him, or not prove sufficient to keep his subjects under, he had here a considerable body of men, placed under a trusty commander, and bound to him by the ties of their religion, ready to come over to his assistance at the first call.

The King was willing, however, to draw over by fair means as many as he could to his persuasion; and because he had many about him who lived loosely enough, and seemed indifferent as to all religions, the priests were directed to them as the most proper persons to make converts of. One of these was the Earl of Mulgrave, then Lord Chamberlain. He heard them gravely arguing for transubstantiation, and was willing, he said, to receive instruction; but, as he had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it, so it must be no ordinary argument that could make him believe that man could be quits with God, and make God again. The Earl of Middleton was another; and when the priest began to demonstrate transubstantiation to him in this manner, "You believe the Trinity," Middleton stopped and said, "Who told you so? But suppose I did, I expected to be convinced of your belief, and not to be questioned about my own," which disordered the priest so, that he could proceed no further. The King gave the Duke of Norfolk one day the sword of state to carry before him, and when he came to the chapel door he stopped. "Your father," said the King, "was a good man, and would have gone further." "And your Majesty's father," replied the Duke, "was the better man, and would not have gone so far." And what was as smart a reply as any, when Kirk was asked to change his religion, he told them he was unhappily pre-engaged, for that if ever he changed he had promised the King of Morocco to turn Mahometan.

These were some of the repartees which, whether true or false, were then current about town, and received with satisfaction; but the most solemn attack that was made upon any was upon the Earl of Rochester, then Lord Treasurer, encouraged, as some say, by certain hints his lady might give to the Queen, and repulsed in the manner it was upon information sent him the very day before the conference, that no compliance could preserve him in his post. However this may be, when the priests, who began the argument, had gone through what they had to say, the Earl replied, "That if that was all they had to urge, he himself would undertake to answer them, without troubling those learned men" (Dr. Patrick and Dr. Jane, who were called in to sustain the controversy), and accordingly answered all that was advanced with much heat and spirit, not without some sallies of scorn upon those who were induced to change their religion upon such frivolous grounds, insomuch that the King, seeing what temper he was in, broke off the conference, and took the white staff from him; but, in lieu thereof, settled upon him a pension of £4,000 a year, both for his own life and his son's.

But, as busy as the priests were in gaining proselytes, they took no due care to reform the King. He still continued his intimacy with Mrs. Sedley, who prevailed so far on him as to be created Countess of Dorchester.

The Queen was alarmed at this new honour, as an avowed declaration of her being his mistress. The priests complained of it heavily, as a stain to his honour, and obstruction to their best endeavours. But, to pacify them both, he promised that he would see the lady no more; that he purposed to send her into Ireland, and had only given her that title to part with her more decently. But this was all pretence. The lady went into Ireland indeed, but in a few months she returned again, and the old ill commerce went on.

The Queen was at this time in a bad state of health, and had a sickness upon her which gave a melancholy presage that even if she should live, she could have no children. The priests, therefore, foreseeing that unless she had a son all their designs must stand still for the present, and prove abortive in the conclusion, endeavoured all they could to embroil the King with the Prince of Orange, in hopes of excluding him thereby from the succession to the crown in right of his wife; and they carried the thing so far, that, though the King was then in full peace with all his neighbours, he gave orders to have the whole fleet, with all imaginable dispatch, put in a condition to go to sea, which was enough to give the Prince of Orange, considering the ill condition of the States' fleet, an uneasy umbrage.

The Prince of Orange was in his temper cold and reserved, regardless of himself, not apt to suspect designs upon his person, and even when information was brought him thereof, from a principle of predestination early imbibed, was regardless of them. He had a gravity in his whole deportment, and a way that was affable and obliging to the Dutch; but he could not bring himself to comply enough with the temper of the English. He had an aversion to constraint, for which reason he neither loved company nor business, though he sometimes put on the appearance of application. The daily diversion of his life was hunting; the governing passion of his soul, the depression of France. He had no vice but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret. He liked the constitution of the English State, and the limitation of the regal authority very well, and blamed all illegal extensions of it. He was pleased with the worship of our Church, and thought the government thereof much better than a parity; but he blamed our divines for condemning foreign Churches, and wished that some of our ceremonies, such as the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the altar, were laid aside.

The Princess possessed all that conversed with her with admiration. Her person was majestic, and created respect; she had great knowledge, with a true judgment and a noble expression; a sweetness there was in her deportment that charmed, an exactness in her piety and virtue, a frugality in her expenses, an extensiveness in her charities, and a peculiar grace in bestowing them, so as to make her a pattern to all who saw her. She read much, both in history and divinity, and when the humour in her eyes forced her from that exercise, she set herself to work with such constant diligence, that all the ladies about her were ashamed to be idle. But, above all, she was a singular instance of conjugal obedience and affection, insomuch that when it was put to her by me, What she intended the Prince should be if she came to the crown? her answer was, "That the rule and authority should be his; for she only desired that he would obey the command of 'Husbands, love your wives,' as she should do that of 'Wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things.'"

The King was very sensible how much it would promote his designs to have the concurrence of two such persons so nearly related to the Crown, and so much concerned in the affairs of England; and therefore he sent over Penn[1] the Quaker, a great favourite, as being the Vice-Admiral's son, and suspected to be a concealed Papist, because he was much with Father Petre, and particularly trusted by the Earl of Sunderland. He was a vain, talking man, and had such an opinion of his faculty of persuasion that he thought none could stand before it, though in that opinion he was singular, for his tedious and affected manner was not so apt to overcome a man's reason as to tire his patience. He undertook, however, to persuade the Prince to come into the King's measures of repealing the Tests and a general Toleration, and left nothing unsaid that might move him to comply in point of interest. The toleration of Papists, as well as Dissenters, the Prince was not averse to (for he thought that conscience was only subject to God), provided it was proposed and passed in Parliament; but he looked upon the Tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the King was of another religion, that he would join in no councils with those who intended to repeal the laws that enacted them; and the King, being resolved to have all or nothing, Penn's negotiation with the Prince had no effect.

But to look back to England.

There died this year two most eminent men in the Church—Pearson, Bishop of Chester, and Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who were succeeded by two entire creatures of the Court. Pearson was certainly the greatest divine of his age—a man of much learning, strong reason, and clear judgment (as his incomparable "Exposition of the Creed" shows), a grave and judicious preacher, but more instructive than affecting, of a spotless life and excellent temper, but a little too remiss in his diocese, and not sufficiently active in his episcopal function. But this might be imputed to some decay in his intellects; for his memory went from him, and he became a child some years before he died. Cartwright succeeded him, a man of good capacity and some progress in learning, but ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous; one who allowed himself scandalous liberties of the worst sort, but whose high notions of the regal power derived from God, and superior to all law, made amends, in the King's eyes, for all blemishes. Fell was both Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christchurch, a man of great strictness of life, much devotion, and much learning (as appears by his noble edition of St. Cyprian), a zealous promoter of learning in the university, a warm opposer of Popery, but a little too hot in our disputes with Dissenters, and perhaps too peremptory in his correction of abuses. Parker succeeded him. He was at the Restoration a violent Independent; after that he struck into the highest form of the Church of England, and became a great extoller of the King's power in matters of religion; but when he missed the preferment he expected, he wrote several books that raised the authority of the Church to an independency of the State. In short, he was a covetous and ambitious man, and seemed to have no other sense of religion than a politic interest; for he seldom came to prayers or any exercises of devotion, and was so lifted up with pride that he became insufferable to every one who came near him. The deanery of Christchurch was given to Massey, a new convert to Popery, but whose sole merit was that, for he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was suitable to such a dignity. The priests, having thus happily placed one of their religion, were now thinking to lay waste the fences of both universities by procuring a general admission into the several degrees thereof. To this purpose they prevailed with the King, as a small essay at first, to give his letter or mandamus ordering the Frère Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk, to be received a Master of Arts in the university of Cambridge. The university refused the mandamus with great unanimity; not that there was much in the concession of a degree (they were distributed promiscuously on several occasions, and the

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[1] Founder of Pennsylvania. He was born in 1644, educated at Chigwell, and Christ Church, Oxford; was a law student of Lincoln's Inn during the plague year; became acquainted with Low, a Quaker preacher, and finally a member of the Society of Friends, and an itinerant preacher in 1668, for which he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he wrote his "No Cross, no Crown," and "Innocency, with her Open Face," which obtained his release. Charles II. owed him money, and wiped the debt off by giving him a province of North America. He was a constant attendant at Court after the Restoration till his death at Ruscomb, near Twyford, in 1718.

Morocco ambassador's secretary, who was a Mahometan, had once that very degree given him), but they were apprehensive that all the King's priests would be let in upon them that way, which at present might occasion great distraction, and in time grow to a majority in the Convocation, and therefore they stood fixed in their refusal, upon which the Vice-Chancellor was summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission to answer this contempt. He was a very honest, but a very weak man, and being but able to make a poor defence, it was no small reflection upon their body that their chief magistrate was found so incompetent to assert their privileges and justify their proceedings. He was turned out of office; but when another of more spirit and better abilities was chosen in his room, the Court waived the dispute, and there was no more said of the matter.

Their next attempt was upon Oxford. Magdalen College is esteemed the richest foundation in England, perhaps in Europe, and the presidentship thereof is in the election of the fellows. Their President now was dead, when the King sent a mandamus requiring them to choose one Farmer, an ignorant and vicious person, and who had no other qualification that could recommend him to so high a post except the change of his religion. The fellows of the college, without taking notice of the King's letter, proceeded to the choice of Dr. Hough, in all respects a statutable man, as well as a man of integrity and firmness. They carried their election, as the statutes require, to the Bishop of Winchester, their visitor, who confirmed it. This was highly resented at Court, and the fellows were summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commission for it; where, when they had exhibited such exceptions against Farmer as made the Court ashamed of him, they were commanded to proceed to a new election in favour of Parker, Bishop of Oxford, as recommended by the King, and in the meantime Hough's election was declared void and their house put under suspension. To excuse themselves from this, they alleged that, being bound by their oaths to maintain their statutes, they were forbidden by them to enter upon a new election until the former was annulled in some court of law. But the statutes of colleges, they were told, were things that depended entirely on the King's pleasure, and that no oaths to observe them could bind when they were in opposition to his command; and so they were dismissed. But continuing still firm in their refusal, a subaltern commission, whereof Cartwright was head, and acted with insufferable insolence, was sent from the High Ecclesiastical Court, who turned out the new President, broke open the door to give Parker possession, and expelled all the fellows except two, who were so abject as to make their submission.

This was a proceeding so violent that not only the university, but the whole nation, expressed an indignation at it; for it was no better than an open piece of robbery and burglary for men unauthorised by any legal power to come and forcibly turn others out of their freehold. And the clergy were so enraged at it that they sent very pressing messages to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to take the concerns of the Church under his care, and to break with the King if his interposition could not prevail for a redress.

Thus ended the second year of this reign, with the destruction of all law by the substitution of a dispensing power; with the institution of an Ecclesiastical Commission, to proceed arbitrarily against the clergy; with the obtrusion of Popery upon the nation, the suspension of an English bishop, and the infringement of the rights and privileges of both universities; and it was easy to see that there was no maintaining such proceedings without a standing army.

The occasion of the late rebellion had raised one, and instead of disbanding it, the King was willing now to make a parade with it; and to inject more terror into the nation, ordered the troops to encamp on Hounslow Heath, and to be exercised all the summer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vast expense. But that which abated the King's joy in seeing so brave an army about him was, that it appeared visibly on all occasions that his soldiers had as strong an aversion to his religion as had the rest of his subjects, and that this encampment gave them an opportunity of encouraging one another, and forming combinations never to depart from the Protestant religion.

The veil was now pulled off, and the King's design of converting the nation to Popery was too manifest to be concealed; and therefore the priests advised him to take heart, and no longer manage a correspondence with Rome privately, but to send a proper person invested with a public character. The person the King made choice of was Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, a man hot and eager in all his notions, and whose success in the negotiation was answerable to all the other unfortunate passages of his life.

The Pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no knowledge of any sort but in the matters of the revenue; for he was so extremely ignorant, that when he was made cardinal he had a master to teach him what little Latin he had occasion for at high mass. He understood nothing of divinity, but had some knowledge of the business of the Regale, in that it related to the temporalities of the Church, and took those under his protection who would not submit to it. The Jesuits he hated, and expressed great esteem for the Jansenists; not that he understood the points of difference between them, but merely because the one were in high favour and the other disregarded in France; for at that time there was no good understanding between the two Courts, which was improved upon this occasion.

In Rome all those of a nation put themselves under the protection of their Ambassador, and are, upon occasions of ceremony, his cortège. They were usually lodged in his neighbourhood, pretending to belong to him, and were exempt from the orders and justice of the city, as part of his family. The houses and streets where they lodged were called franchises, as not subject to the Government of Rome; but the disorders which arose thereby were so many that the Pope was resolved to suppress them, and to reduce the privileges of ambassadors to their own families within their own palaces. Other princes were willing to comply; but the King of France declared that he would maintain all the privileges and franchises that his ambassadors were possessed of; and when it was suggested that the Pope's legate at Paris had no privilege but for his own family, it was returned with scorn enough, "that the Pope was not to pretend to an equality with so great a king, nor to have his nuncios put upon a level with ambassadors that passed between sovereign princes." And upon this fresh matter of dispute arose when the King's Ambassador arrived at Rome.

All things were provided with great splendour, and at a vast expense; but when the day set for his audience came, there happened to be such an extraordinary thunder and deluge of rain as disgraced the show, and heightened the opinion of the ominousness of his embassy. What the Ambassador was commissioned to request was, first, the making of Père Renaldi of Este, the Queen's uncle, a cardinal, wherein he succeeded; and then to try if it were possible to get Father Petre, a man of no learning, nor in any way famed for his virtue, but descended of a noble family, and for his zeal and boldness in great favour with the King, advanced to the like honour. But the Pope was too great an enemy to Jesuits ever to confer the purple upon any of that order.

The Ambassador pressed Cibo, who was then Cardinal Patron, in his master's name to put an end to the differences between the Pope and the King of France in the matter of franchises, that the world might see his Holiness had a due regard to one king who had extirpated heresy, and to another who was endeavouring to bring three kingdoms into the sheepfold; and for an encouragement he added that if the Pope would join with him in the design, they would set about the destruction of heresy everywhere; would begin with the Dutch, and immediately fall upon them, a company of rebels and pirates as they were, without any formal declaration of war. But Cibo, whether displeased with the man's haughty carriage or with the proposal itself, gave information thereof to the Imperial Cardinals, they sent it to the Emperor, and the Emperor transmitted it to the Prince of Orange, who made a proper advantage of the information.

When the Ambassador saw that his remonstrances to the Cardinal Patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the Pope, wherein he lamented the disregard paid to two such great kings, reflected on the Pope's worldly-mindedness, to the scandal of Christendom, and, if his master's intercessions were so little considered, threatened to be gone, to which the Pope replied, *lei è padrone*, he might if he would; for he was so offended at his freedom, that he gave him to know he never intended him another private audience. And so the Ambassador left Rome, not a little disgusted at his cold reception, and perhaps ignorant of the true reason of it, which was this—that as the Romans have very little sense of religion, so they considered the reduction of England as a royal boast, more than a thing that was practicable; or if it were accomplished, they saw that the King was so much in the interest of France, and under the conduct of the Jesuits that there could be no relying on him, nor would the kingdom under such management bring into their offices any great profits, by way of bulls and compositions, which is the only thing they have an eye to in the conversion of any nation.

The King thought it commodious to his own affairs to keep a seemingly fair understanding with the Prince of Orange, whatever hidden designs he might have against him; and therefore he removed Skelton, who was become offensive to the

Prince, to Paris, and sent over White, an Irishman, who had been a spy to the Spaniards, and upon their want of money had accepted of the title of Marquis d'Albeville in part payment for his services—a cunning man to corrupt under-secretaries, and by that means find out some secrets of state, but a mean and despicable agent when he came to negotiate matters of a higher form. He assured the Prince and States that the King was firmly resolved to maintain his alliance with them, and that the naval preparations he was making were only to enable him to preserve the peace of Europe. He told the Prince and Princess in private that the King was so far from intending to wrong them in their right of succession, that all that he was engaged in now was only to assert the prerogatives of the Crown, which they in their turn would reap the advantages of; and therefore he desired their concurrence in the repeal of the penal laws and tests, which were a restraint on the King's liberty, and a great discouragement to some of his most faithful subjects.

The Prince and Princess were both fixed in a principle against persecution in matters of conscience; but they could not think it reasonable, they said, to let Papists sit in Parliament, or serve in public trusts. The restless spirits in some of that religion, particularly the clergy; the power they had over the King, even to make him forget the promise he made at his coronation; and the strong aversion he had conceived against the Church of England, that had given such signal proofs of its affection and fidelity, were but too just grounds of jealousy. The enlargement of the prerogative was what they desired not, what was not safe, and what might end in the ruin of the constitution. It was already large enough, and the King might be both happy at home and glorious abroad, if he improved the advantages that were now in his hands; but that, if he entered into contrary measures, their consent should never be granted to the abolition of those laws which were the only security of the Church of England.[1]

The Prince, in return, was advised to send over Dyckveldt, and gave him instructions how to treat with all sorts of people—

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[1] White brought letters from the King to the Prince and Princess to forbid me the Court. The Princess showed them to me, and to prevent an open rupture this was done; but, by the express wish of the Prince, I had still a communication of their counsels, and had the whole secret of English affairs brought to me. This confidence was never withdrawn from me.

with the King, with those of the Church, and with the Dissenters. With the King he was ordered to expostulate decently but firmly upon the methods he was pursuing both at home and abroad. The Church party he was to assure that the Prince would always be firm to the Church of England, and to all our national interests. The Dissenters he was to dissuade from being drawn in by Court promises, and to offer them a full toleration, and likewise a comprehension, if possible, whenever the Crown should devolve on the Princess. And to all people he was to clear up the Prince's character, satisfying the Church party that he was no Presbyterian, and the Dissenters that he was not arbitrary and imperious, as some had represented him.

With these instructions he went, and followed them very closely. But while he was in London a great discovery was made of the intentions of the Court by the Jesuits of Liege, who, in a letter to their brethren in Friburg, told them that the King of England was received into a communication of the merits of their order; that he expressed great joy at his becoming a son of the society, and was resolved to bring about the conversion of England, or to die a martyr in endeavouring it; but that he must be expeditious in it, otherwise, if he died before its accomplishment, he should leave them worse than he found them. They added, among other particulars, that when one of them kneeled down to kiss his hand, he took him up, and would not suffer him; and when another lamented that his next heir was a heretic, his answer was, that God would provide him an heir. This letter was sent over to Dyckveldt, which, when the King was making quite contrary professions, he remonstrated to him, and gave him a copy of; but the King's making no mention of it afterwards was thought a tacit confession that the thing was no forgery.

Thus Dyckveldt's negotiation at London, and D'Albeville's at the Hague, ended without any effect on either side. Only this good advantage the Dutch minister made of his instructions—that he formed a society of some of the nobility[1] who wished well to their religion and country, who were to consult such advices and advertisements as might be fit for the Prince to know from time to time, that he might govern himself thereby. And it was by their directions that the Prince formed all his motions,

[1] The chief of these were the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, and Nottingham; the Lords Mordaunt, Lumley, Herbert, Russell, and the Bishop of London. Their common place of meeting was at the Earl of Shrewsbury's.

and by their encouragement that he engaged at last in the great design of delivering the kingdom.

The King, being conscious that he had lost the Church of England by his bad usage of them, was now looking out for a counterpoise, and making strong application to the Dissenters to persuade them to accept of the favour he intended them, and to concur with him in his designs. The Dissenters at that time were divided into four main bodies—the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptists, and the Friends, or Quakers. The two former had not the visible distinction of different rites. That wherein they chiefly differed was, that the Presbyterians were not so adverse to Episcopal ordination and a Liturgy, and were friends to civil government and a limited monarchy; whereas the Independents were for a commonwealth in the State, and a popular government in the Church, and no set form of worship; but both were enemies to the repeal of the Tests and the toleration of Popery. The Anabaptists were generally men of virtue and universal charity; but, being at too great a distance from the Church of England, they were for a toleration of all religions, as the only means to capacitate themselves for favour and employments. And the Friends, or Quakers, had set up such a visible distinction in the matter of the hat, and their odd forms of speech, besides the great difference in many points of doctrine, that they were generally supposed, for the same reason, to be for the toleration.

These were the men that the King had now taken under his wing; and, to give them a specimen of what favours he intended for them in England, he sent down a proclamation to Scotland, wherein he repealed all the severe laws that were passed in his grandfather's name during his infancy; all that lay an inability on his Roman Catholic subjects; all that imposed tests on those who were in employments; and all that were made against moderate Presbyterians; wherein he promised never to force his subjects to change their religion, and required only that they would renounce the principles of rebellion, and oblige themselves to support him in his absolute power against all opposers. But this proclamation being found liable to many just exceptions, another was sent down, whereby full liberty was granted to all Presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way. This was received with great rejoicing, and as an extraordinary work of Providence, that had moved the heart of a prince from whom they expected an increase of the severities under which they laboured, to grant them an unconfined liberty of conscience; but few were so ignorant as not to know what the intent of all this indulgence was.

To put both nations under the same regulation, the King sent out in April a Declaration of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience for England, wherein he expressed his aversion to persecution on account of religion; suspended all penal and sanguinary laws in matters of this nature; suppressed all oaths and tests that excluded any of his subjects from employments; and renewed his promise of maintaining the Church of England and all his subjects in their properties, and particularly in the possession of the abbey lands. The mention of abbey lands made it believed that the design of setting up Popery was well-nigh accomplished, and that the King concluded he had a sure game in his hand; but, for all that, the Dissenters were very full of their acknowledgments, and seemed to outvie all that had gone before them in the abject strains of submission and flattery. They all magnified the King's mercy and favour, and made great professions of fidelity and gratitude; but some carried the matter higher, making severe reflections on the clergy and their proceedings, and promising to send such representatives to Parliament as would confirm by their act what the King had so graciously granted. Nay, some of the bishops who were gained by the Court carried their compliance to the same shameful pitch, and encouraged addresses of thanks to the King for the bare promise in his Declaration that he would maintain the Church of England.

These addresses elated the King and his priests beyond measure. They thought now that they had gained the whole nation, and conquered those who had been their most irreconcilable enemies. They spoke of the clergy with much disdain, as the abettors of persecution, and obstructors of the King's good intentions for a toleration long before. And, to expose them to the censure of the world as much as might be, the King ordered an inquiry to be made into all the vexatious suits that had brought Dissenters into the Ecclesiastical Courts, and into all the compositions they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from further trouble, which, as the practice was then, were very scandalous, and required a redress, but proceeding from a better motive than revenge.

The King being now got into a method of popularity, as he thought, was resolved to make a progress this summer, while the

Queen was at Bath for the recovery of her health; but, before he set out, he gave the Pope's nuncio, Cardinal Dada, who, in return for Lord Castlemaine's embassy, came over hither, a public audience at Windsor, whereat the Duke of Somerset, being the Lord of the Bedchamber then in waiting, refusing to attend, was turned out of all his employments with expressions of high displeasure.

The King began his progress, and went from Salisbury all round as far as Chester. But in most places where he came he saw such a visible coldness, both in the nobility and gentry (though he himself was very obliging to all that came near him—to Dissenters especially, and those who were thought Republicans), that he shortened his journey, and returned to the Queen at Bath, having left behind him everywhere injunctions to choose such Parliament men as would ratify the toleration he had granted, and repeal the tests as he had done.

When the King came back, he changed the magistracy in most of the cities in England in favour of the Dissenters, but was surprised to find that the new Lord Mayor and aldermen of London took the Test, and ordered the observation of Gunpowder Treason day to be continued; that they disowned the invitation of the Pope's nuncio to dinner, and entered it in their books that he came without their knowledge; and that they continued the service of the Church of England in Guildhall Chapel, notwithstanding the King sent them a permission to use what form of worship they pleased.

The like ill success he found in the orders he sent to the lord-lieutenants of counties to examine the gentlemen and freeholders upon these questions, viz.: whether, in case they should be chosen to serve in Parliament, they would consent to repeal the penal laws and tests? Whether they would vote for men who would engage to repeal them, and whether they would maintain the King's Declaration? For in most counties the lord-lieutanants themselves either declared against those questions, and refused to put them at all, or they did it in so negligent a manner that it was plain they did not desire to be answered in the affirmative. Many counties, too, answered boldly in the negative, and others refused to answer anything, as did the Lord Mayor of London, and most of the new aldermen; and, for this contempt, many were turned out of their commissions.

Nor had the King much better success in the attempt he made upon the Princess of Orange to pervert her in her religion, in a letter he sent her over by D'Albeville when he returned to the Hague; wherein he acquainted her how he himself had been brought up in the doctrine of the Church of England by Dr. Stewart; had been zealous in that way, and thought it a point of honour not to change his religion, until he observed more devotion, more charity, and more sanctity of life among the Catholics than Protestants, which set him upon examining both religions; that, upon inquiry, he found the Reformation was not the work of the Spirit of God, but set up by men who had their heads full of temporal matters; that Christ had certainly an infallibility in his Church; that the Church of Rome was the only one that either had or pretends to have this infallibility; that submission was necessary to the peace of the Church, and a licentious expounding of Scripture productive of sects and wild opinions; that the Church of England, ever since the Reformation, had persecuted those who dissented from her, though she pretended to no infallibility; and that the Dissenters in England had as much right to separate from her as she had to separate from the Church of Rome.

This was the substance of the King's letter, and the Princess's answer ran upon these heads:—That she had neither taken up her religion on trust, nor stuck to it upon a point of honour, but had both examined it herself, and been instructed therein by others. She conceived, therefore, that it was no prejudice against the Reformation that those who possessed it led ill lives, since none of the principles of their religion allowed them to do so. She supposed that there was an equality among the Apostles, and that St. Paul, when he withstood St. Peter to the face because he was to be blamed, was not at all inferior to him. She imagined that if there was an infallibility in the Church of Rome, it was not yet concluded where to place it, and almost impossible to tell where it then resided, when there were two or three popes at a time, acting one against another, and all, as they pretended, with the assistance of General Councils. She was satisfied that the ill use some made of the Scriptures ought not to deprive others of them, since there were so many precepts, both in the Old and New Testament, directing us to a constant perusal of them. And lastly, as to the point of separation, she said that we had parted from the Church of Rome no further than she had parted from the primitive institution; that the grounds of our separation from her were of a different nature from those that had separated Dissenters from us; nor was the persecution of them any imputation to the Church, since the laws against them were thought necessary at that time, and made by the State, and not by the Church. This was the substance of her answer; and her repulsing this attack made upon her faith with so much vigour and resolution bespoke such love, as well as knowledge, of her religion, as prevented all attempts of the like nature upon her ever after.[1]

Thus ended the third year of this reign, with the terror of a standing army, with the pomp of an embassy to Rome, with a return of a nuncio thence, with encouragement to Dissenters, with indignation against the Church, a Proclamation in Scotland, and a Declaration in England for dissolving penal laws and tests; and we are now entering upon the year 1688, that will ever be memorable for the great Revolution that it produced.

D'Albeville, before his going over into England, had given in to the States a threatening memorial relating to the business of Bantam, which looked like a prelude of a declaration of war; and, at his return, he gave in another, but in a milder strain, desiring that commissions might be sent over to determine that dispute. But, upon an answer exhibited to these memorials, the King thought proper to let the matter drop; for he was still desirous to bring the Prince, if possible, into his measures.

To this purpose, he employed one Steward (who had been a lawyer in Scotland, but relinquished his profession because he would not renounce the Covenant, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition), to manage the matter with pensioner Fagel, with whom he had a considerable confidence. Steward pressed the pensioner in the King's name, and by his direction, to persuade the Prince to concur with him in procuring a repeal of the laws, for that the number of Papists was too inconsiderable to be dreaded, and the severities on Dissenters too grievous to be borne; but then he made it a condition that the tests should go along with them. This, when he had urged it to the pensioner in several letters, the pensioner was at last desired by the Prince to answer; and, when matters were come to such a height that Father Petre was brought into the Council-board; that four Popish bishops were making a circuit round England to confirm, and do other episcopal offices; that D'Albeville had given it out in Holland how the Church of England would not have a being two years to an end; and the Prince's conduct with relation to the Tests was industriously misrepresented, the Prince ordered the answer to be printed.

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[1] After I had stayed a year in Holland, I heard from many hands that the King seemed to forget his own greatness when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published "Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland" in 1686, written on purpose to expose Popery and tyranny, and had sent over little papers, which were printed in Holland, and reflected on the proceedings in England. This so provoked the King that he ordered a process against me in Scotland for high treason, which came at last to an outlawry; and menaces were made of seizing me, and carrying me away forcibly. Three memorials were successively delivered to the States, requiring them to surrender me as a rebel and fugitive, or to banish me the Provinces. So I was called before the Deputies of the States to answer the allegations against me, but fully satisfied them; and being then a subject of Holland (for I was naturalised), claimed their protection; but, when they refused to give me up, men were employed to assassinate me, and five or at least three hundred pounds offered at the Secretary's office for a person to seize or destroy me.

It set forth in a very lively manner that both the Prince and Princess were against all persecution on account of religion; that they freely consented to cover Papists from the severity of all penal laws, and to grant full liberty to Dissenters; but they could not agree to the repeal of those laws that imported no punishment, but an incapacity from public employments only; that this was a caution observed in all nations to restrain those of a different communion, and was now necessary for the established religion. If, then, the number of Papists was so small, it was not reasonable to make so great an alteration in the laws for the sake of a few; and, if they were people of temper and modesty, they ought to waive their pretensions to public places for the sake of their brethren, upon whom the penal laws lay so heavy. These were the heads of the answer which, when published and sent into England, was received with universal joy. The Dissenters saw themselves safe in the Prince's intentions towards them; the Church party was confirmed in his zeal for maintaining the Tests; and even the lay Papists were not dissatisfied with the proposal, but complained rather of those ambitious priests and hungry courtiers who were resolved to leave them exposed to the severities of the law, rather than lay aside their pride and avarice. Only the King and those about him were grievously offended at it, and resolved to fix some mark of indignation upon the Prince for it.

There were in the service of the States six regiments of the King's subjects—three English and three Scotch—that had some of them been of an old establishment, others raised but lately, but all received without any capitulation, or reserved authority to the King to call them home at pleasure. The King, however, took occasion to express his resentment, and sent to the States to return the regiments that were in their service. The States excused themselves that they could not part with them, for they reckoned them their own forces, having paid levy money for them, and received them under no capitulation; but, whatever officers wished to return, they denied not them their *congé*. Whereupon thirty or forty officers desired to be dismissed,—a set of insolent and ungovernable persons whom the Prince was glad to get quit of,—and the rest were so modelled as to be depended on upon occasion.

Whether the King imagined that he could vacate the force of the laws by his repeated insults over them, or was willing to bring the clergy either under contempt for compliance, or under penalties for disobedience to his injunctions, but so it was that, about the end of April, he thought fit to renew his last year's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, with an addition that he would adhere firmly to it, and put none in employment but such as would concur in maintaining it; and with an order of Council requiring the bishops to send copies thereof to their clergy, and to enjoin them to read it on several Sundays in time of Divine service.

The clergy, upon this occasion, were under great difficulties, and had several meetings in and about London, where they argued the point. On the one hand, it was said that reading the Declaration did not imply their approbation of it; it was a publication of the King's act, and no way imputable to them; whereas a refusal to do it would certainly expose them to greater severities than prudence required for so slight a matter On the other hand, it was said that the publication of it was imposed upon them to make them odious; would be a bad precedent to the gentry, and an encouragement to the King to lay harder tasks upon them; that, whatever the toleration was, the Declaration, which was founded upon a dispensing power, was illegal, and to have any hand in promulgating it was abetting it. Be the danger then what it would, they saw their ruin was determined, and it would be an inglorious thing to defer it a little by doing that which would draw on them the hatred of their friends and the contempt of their enemies. These reasons happily prevailed, and were communicated with such secrecy to the clergy in the country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct before the Court had any notice of it.

Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, acted on this occasion a part suitable to his post and character. He wrote to all the bishops of his province to come up and consult about this matter of great importance; and of such as could not, he desired their opinions. Eighteen bishops, and the main body of the clergy, concurred in the resolution against reading the Declaration; and he and six more signed a petition to the King, containing their reasons for not obeying the order of Council that had been sent them, viz.:—That their refusal proceeded not from any disrespect to his Majesty, or unwillingness to show favour to Dissenters; but, the Declaration being founded on a dispensing power which was known to be illegal and destructive both to Church and State, they could not in prudence, honour, and conscience make themselves so far parties to it as the publication of it in time of Divine service must amount to.

The Archbishop himself was in an ill state of health, and not able to go; but he sent the other six[1] with the petition to the King, who, when he understood the contents of it, told them roughly that he was their King, and would be obeyed, otherwise he would let them feel the weight of his displeasure. Their answer was, "The will of God be done," and so they returned from the Court in a sort of triumph.

Upon this emergency, the King consulted with those who were about him what was proper to be done, and talked with men of all persuasions. Lob, an eminent man among the Dissenters, was for sending the bishops to the Tower; Father Petre was transported with joy, and broke out into a very indecent expression upon it; but the Popish nobility pressed him earnestly to let the matter fall, for they perceived a combination among the clergy not to read the Declaration; and accordingly it proved, for only seven in London, and not above two hundred all England over, read it; and of these some read it the first Sunday, but not the second; others declared in their sermons, that though they obeyed the order, they did not approve the Declaration; and one, more pleasantly than the rest, told his congregation that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it, and so, when they were all gone out, he read it to the walls.

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[1] The six bishops were St. Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol.

After a fortnight's consultation, violent counsels seemed to agree best with the King's temper and resentment, and so the bishops were cited to appear before the Council; where, after being examined whether the petition was of their penning, and owning it—whether of their publication, and denying it—they were asked at last whether they would enter into bonds to appear at the King's Bench, and answer to an information of misdemeanour; but, upon their right of peerage, refusing to do it, they were sent to the Tower.

Never was the City, in the memory of man, in such a fermentation as upon this occasion. The banks of the river (for the bishops went by water) were crowded with people, kneeling down, and asking their blessings, and with loud shouts expressing their good wishes and hearty concern for their preservation. In the Tower the soldiers and officers did the same, and a universal consternation appeared in all peoples' faces. The King only remained unmoved; and though he had a fair opportunity of doing a gracious thing, upon the pretended birth of his son, which happened two days after, yet his eager appetite of revenge, or of vindicating his insulted authority as he called it, made him inexorable. After a week's confinement, however, the bishops being brought, upon a *habeas corpus*, to the King's Bench bar, were admitted to bail, and required to answer the information that should be exhibited against them that day fortnight.

When the day appointed for their trial came, Powis was Attorney-General, and Sir William Williams (who had been Speaker in two successive Parliaments, a zealous promoter of the Exclusion, and a bold pleader in causes against the Court, but himself a corrupt and vicious man, and who had no principle but his own interest), was Solicitor. Powis acted his part as fairly as his post would allow him, but Williams took very indecent liberties, and oftentimes bore very hard upon Sawyer and Finch, the bishops' counsel, who were remarkable for their precedents and proceedings, when they themselves were of the King's. They could not, however, prove either the bishops' hands, or their publication of the petition, and were therefore forced to have recourse to the confession they had made at the Council-board, which was thought very inglorious.

The bishops' defence was, that having received an order to which they could not pay obedience, they thought it incumbent on them to lay before the King their reasons for it; that, as subjects, they had a right to petition; as peers, and of his great Council, they had a further claim; and, as bishops, they were concerned to look after matters of religion; and that the King's Declaration being of that nature, and founded on a power that was contrary to law, they thought it both their right and duty to make such representation to him. But the sacredness of the King's authority, and the seditiousness of petitioning in any point of government out of Parliament, were much objected on the other side. They were, however, at last acquitted, to the inexpressible joy of the City, the army, and the whole nation.

But though the bishops had escaped, the King was resolved to pursue his revenge, and to make the inferior clergy suffer for their contempt in not reading the Declaration. And accordingly citations were issued out, requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to send in the lists of all the clergy, both of those who had and those who had not obeyed the order of Council; which they refusing to do, the Bishop of Rochester, on the very day to which they were cited, withdrew from the Court, and sent a letter to the Commissioners, importing, "that though he himself had obeyed the order, which he protested he did out of a principle of conscience, yet, as he did not doubt but that those who had refused it went upon the same motive, he would now choose rather to suffer with them than concur in making them suffer;" which stopped the proceedings of that day, and in the event put an end to that Court for ever.

Things were now come to that pass, and the King, by assuming to himself a power to make laws void, had so broken the government and legal administration of it, that it was high time for the nation to look to its preservation. Admiral Russell had a sister in Holland, and under pretence of coming to see her, he was desired by some men of great power and interest in England to wait on the Prince, to acquaint him with the disposition of the nation, and to know his resolutions what he proposed to do. And the thing was pressed with greater earnestness at that time, because the Queen's confinement of a son, which was generally thought to be an imposture, had dissatisfied people's minds more and more.

The Queen had been for six or seven years in such an ill state of health, and had long relinquished all prospect of such an increase, that those who were about her were very well assured she would have no more children. She was at Bath when the King went his progress, and at his return he called upon her in September, and stayed some few days with her. On the 6th of October, she came to the King at Windsor, and it was at that time that her mother, the Duchess of Modena, made a vow to the Lady of Loretto, that her daughter, by her means, might have a son; and the daughter, it was said, believed in the vitality of the child the very moment her mother made that vow. After she had expressed this belief, all things about her person were managed with a mysterious secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few Papists. The Princess of Orange was not acquainted with it; the Princess of Denmark, with all her inquisitiveness, could get no certain knowledge of it; and, when it came to be suspected and bantered in some libels as a cheat and imposture, the turn the Queen gave it was, that she scorned to satisfy those who suspected her capable of so black a contrivance.

On Monday in Easter week the Queen, being apprehensive of a miscarriage, sent for the King, who was then at Rochester viewing some naval preparations. The Countess of Clarendon was in the bedchamber that same day, and both heard the Queen often bemoan herself, saying, "Undone, undone," and saw some signs of a miscarriage (as Dr. Walgrave testified the same), when the Countess of Powis ordered her to withdraw, and a woman of the bedchamber charged her to speak nothing of what she had seen that day. The King at this time pressed the Princess of Denmark, with a more than usual importunity, and contrary to the opinion of her friends and physicians, to go to Bath. But she had not long been there before, pretending that the waters did not agree with her, she sent word of her intentions to return within a few days.

The Queen had no sooner notice of this, but she was for going the very next day to be confined at St. James's (for those about her had now altered her reckoning to the time the King was with her at Bath), and was accordingly carried at night from Whitehall, not through the park, as usual, but by Charing Cross and along Pall-Mall, with a sort of affectation; her train giving it out that she was going to be confined—some saying it would be next morning, and others affirming it would be of a boy. There was no mistake in the conjecture, if it was one, for next morning, about nine o'clock, she sent word to the King that she was in labour. The Queen-Dowager, the Countess of Sunderland, and the Lady Belasyse came in time; but, it being Trinity Sunday, all the Protestant ladies about Court were gone to church before the news was let go abroad. The King brought with him a great many peers and Privy Councillors; and, while they stood at the further end of the room, the ladies within the alcove, and the Queen, with the curtains close drawn, and none within them but the midwife and an under-dresser, lay in bed. A warming-pan was brought in, which, not being looked into, was thought a matter of suspicion afterwards, and, in a very short time (a little before ten), the Queen cried out as in a strong pain, and the midwife said aloud she was happily delivered, and gave some indication to Lady Sunderland, who touched her forehead, a sign previously agreed upon by which the King was assured that it was a son.

The child was not heard to cry, nor was he shown to any in the room; but the under-dresser huddled away something in her arms, pretending more air was necessary, into a dressing-room hard by, that had communication with other apartments; and the King, delaying some minutes to follow her, made it seem as if he had been minded to give time for some clandestine management. No satisfaction, in the meantime, was given to the ladies who came in that the birth was real: the Princess, when she returned from Bath, had no sure conviction of it; and Chamberlain, the man-midwife, not having been called in to the labour, as usual, heightened the probability of an imposture. If there was no imposture, the matter, in short, was so unaccountably managed as to give sufficient grounds of suspicion, and might therefore excuse the nation for being so cold in their expressions of joy, and so formal in their congratulatory addresses upon this occasion.

But if a child was born, there are further presumptions that it soon died, and another was put in his room. The Queen's children were all naturally very weak, and died young. That very night a man[1] of credit overheard it said in an eminent Papist's house (Brown, brother to the Viscount Montacute), that "the Prince of Wales is dead." Next morning all access was denied to the young Prince, and the Countess of Clarendon herself was not admitted. However, two days after this, a child was produced, that looked too strong, as most thought, for one so newly born. And that child, again, fell into such fits, some weeks after, that four physicians were sent for, and all looked upon him as dead; but when, after dinner, they were called in again, they were shown a sound lusty child, that had no kind of illness on him, whom they could not think the same, though they durst not speak their minds.

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[1] Hemings, an eminent apothecary in St. Martin's Lane.

However this may be, the Prince of Orange thought it proper to send over Zulestein, both to congratulate upon this occasion and to feel the pulse of the nobility and chief gentry with relation to his coming over; and, upon his return, Zulestein brought such advices and assurances to the Prince, as determined his resolution. It was advised that the Prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture; that the proceedings against the bishops and the pretended birth of a prince had made people imagine that the ruin of their religion was intended, and Popery and slavery entailed upon the nation; that the army continued well affected; the seamen showed the same inclination; and the whole nation, in short, was now in a proper disposition to be made use of. The army, indeed, were so exasperated against the Papists that were among them, that the King found it necessary to part them by breaking up the camp, and sending them into winter quarters. And the fleet had like to have mutinied upon Strickland's bringing priests aboard to say mass, and dismissing the chaplains on a slight pretence.

The Earl of Sunderland at this time declared himself a Papist; and his change was so sudden, without any previous conference or instruction, that it looked like a man who, having no religion, took up one to serve a turn more than to satisfy his conscience. The true secret of his conversion, however, was not an intention to ruin the King by thus gaining greater credit with him while he carried on a separate correspondence with the Prince of Orange, for the Prince of Orange had never any participation of counsels with him, but to raise himself thence in the Queen's esteem, that he might have the better opportunity to press his advice for more moderate measures with more authority, and by that means destroy the designs which he probably understood were carrying on in Holland. To this purpose he told the Queen "that the state of affairs was now quite altered since she had a son; that there was no necessity for driving on so hastily what time would bring about by easy steps, now the succession was sure; that it would be her interest to set up for gentle counsels, and to allay the flame that was kindled by a different administration; that by this means she would gain the hearts of the nation both to herself and her son, and be probably chosen Queen-Regent, if the King should die during his minority." This was the scheme he laid, and the end he proposed, in the change of his religion; and it might have possibly had its intended effect, and stilled the ferment of the nation by promises of a milder administration for the future, but that it wanted a sufficient time to operate.

The Prince of Orange, having this encouragement from England, set himself with great application to prepare for his intended expedition. The old Elector of Brandenburg was now dead. He was a prince of great courage, and very skilful in affairs, both civil and military; he had an excellent memory and quick apprehension; was regular in the conduct of his own life, and zealous in the concerns of religion; but a little too choleric in his temper, and too intent upon his own interest when it came before him. He kept a splendid Court, and, to maintain that and his large armies, he pressed his subjects with heavy taxes; nor was he sufficiently sensible of their miseries. His son had not his genius: he had neither strength of body nor force of mind capable of great undertakings; but he had a true zeal for the Reformed religion, and a fond admiration of his cousin, the Prince of Orange; and therefore, when his father was dead, and the Prince sent over Bentinck with a compliment to the new Elector, acquainting him at the same time with his design on England, and requesting to know how much he might depend on his assistance, he offered him all that he could ask, and more.

The Prince resolved to carry over to England an army of nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse and dragoons; and, for the security of the States under such a diminution of their strength, he concerted with the new Elector, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Duke of Lunenburg and Zell, to furnish such a number of troops as might supply that deduction, and prevailed with the States to settle a fund for nine thousand seamen, and to have their naval preparations in such a condition that they might be ready to put to sea upon the first orders.

While these things were in secret management, the Elector of Cologne's death, who was likewise Bishop of Liege and Münster, came happily in to cover the preparations that the Dutch were making. Münster lay between them and the northern parts of Germany, and from thence their best recruits came. Cologne commanded twenty leagues of the Rhine, and was an inlet into Holland; and Liege, a country full of people and wealth, opened an entrance into Brabant, which, if Maestricht were taken, commanded the Maese down to Holland; so that it nearly concerned the Dutch to observe who succeeded in the electorate; and their movements on that occasion were so little suspected, and thought so reasonable, that neither the Court of England nor the Court of France, for above two months, took the alarm.

The first of the English nobility that came over to the Prince was Lord Mordaunt, a man brave and generous, with much heat, many notions, and full of discourse; but his judgment was not true, his thoughts crude and undigested, and his secrets too easily known. He pressed the Prince to the undertaking, and represented the facility of it in too romantic a manner to be depended on.

The Earl of Shrewsbury came over next, who had been bred a Papist, but forsook that religion upon a critical inquiry into the points of controversy; a man of strict honour and probity, with a large share of learning, a correct judgment, a sweetness of temper, and modesty of deportment that charmed all who knew him, and raised him highly in the estimation of his prince. He only represented the state of affairs to the Prince, and, without pressing them too much, left it to his own consideration and resolves.

Russell came over in May, and brought the matter nearer a crisis. He had been bred at sea, and was a bedchamber-man to the King when Duke of York; but, upon his cousin-german the Lord Russell's death, he retired from Court, being a man of much honour and great courage, of good principles, and resolute in maintaining them. To him the Prince declared "that in a design of such consequence his honour and his conscience both were to be satisfied, and therefore he expected a formal and direct invitation before he embarked in it; or, if there were danger in trusting such a secret with so many, that such a competent number as might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best would do it, and he would then instantly engage."

Admiral Herbert came over in July, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill-humour. He was a man of a good understanding, but profusely luxurious, and upon every occasion so sullen and peevish that it was plain he valued himself much, and expected the same of others. And it was thought his private quarrel with Lord Dartmouth, for having more of the King's confidence than himself, was the root of his resentment against the King, from whence his firmness in the present undertaking grew; but the reputation he had gained for his steadfastness in England, his great skill in sea affairs, and the near prospect of employing him in that capacity, made it necessary to endeavour to keep him in good temper, so far as homage and observance could do it.

But the man to whom the conduct of the whole design was chiefly committed was Mr. Sidney, brother to Algernon and the Earl of Leicester, who, being envoy in Holland in the year 1679, entered into a particular confidence with the Prince, and had the highest degree of his trust and favour that ever Englishman had. A graceful man he was, who had lived long in the Court, and run into some adventures that became very public; but of a sweet, endearing temper, and who had no fault, no malice in his heart, but too great a love for pleasure. His business was to sound the sentiments of some of the nobility, and to fix their purposes about the Prince's coming over.

Lord Halifax, when he proposed the thing to him, thought it too hazardous and impracticable. Lord Danby readily went into it, and drew the Bishop of London into an approbation of it. Lord Nottingham had great credit with the Church party, as being a man possessed with their notions, grave and virtuous in his course of life, and in no share of confidence with the Court all this reign. He had some knowledge of the law and the records of Parliament, and was a copious speaker, but too florid and tedious, though mightily admired by some. Upon the first proposition he embraced it; but afterwards (pretending conscience, and the opinion of some divines upon the matter) he could not go along with them, he said, but he would so far assist them as his good wishes would avail, and be so far criminal as concealment would make him. The Earl of Devonshire was eager for it, and so were three of the principal officers in the army—Kirk, Trelawny, and Lord Churchill. Trelawny persuaded his brother, the Bishop of Exeter, to agree to it; and Churchill engaged as many officers as he could well trust with the secret.

Lord Churchill was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the Court, without any literature; but he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a Court most exquisitely, caressed all men with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. But, as he began the world with no fortune, he entered too deeply into the methods of acquiring one; nor did he relinquish that pursuit, so as to suit his expenses to the state he could well have maintained from the posts he held, when he came to be raised to a higher elevation. But, making some kind allowances for this, he was certainly one of the greatest men of the age. He was very high in the King's favour, and has therefore been often censured as both ungrateful and perfidious to a kind and liberal master; but as he was always averse to the King's violent proceedings, and suggested more moderate counsels whenever he was consulted—as he always declared he would leave the King and withdraw from his service whenever he found him attempting an alteration in the constitution—the cause of religion and liberty was then a sufficient reason, and is still a sufficient apology, for his doing so. His lady was a woman of little knowledge, but of a clear apprehension and true judgment. She was a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and a little too impetuous in her way of speaking. She was thought proud and insolent on the favour she was in with Princess Anne, which indeed was very great, though she used none of the common arts of flattery and dissimulation to maintain it; and it was probably by her prevalency that both that Princess and her husband, the Prince of Denmark, were induced to encourage the expedition.

With these promises and invitations, the Earl of Shrewsbury came over in September, and, not long after, Sidney brought over a full scheme of advices, together with the heads of a Declaration, which were all penned by the Earl of Danby. And though the secret was now in many thousand hands, yet so true were they to one another, that there was not the least discovery made till France took the alarm, and sent information thereof to the King. The King published the advertisements he had from France a little too rashly, for the people were animated when they understood that the Prince's coming was in agitation, and put themselves in a disposition to receive him. But, to allay their expectations, it was afterwards given out that the preparations were either against France or Denmark, for, considering the good understanding between the King and Prince, they could not possibly be against England. The King, however, discovered his apprehensions of it when he ordered fourteen more ships to be put to sea, with many fire-ships, and gave the chief command of the fleet to Lord Dartmouth, one of the worthiest men of his Court, who, having been long in his service and confidence, though much against the present conduct of affairs, was nevertheless resolved to stick to him at all hazards.

Under this apprehension, the King plainly saw by his late encampment that there was no depending on the army without new moulding it; and therefore he proposed the putting such a number of Popish recruits, brought over from Ireland, into every regiment, as would soon swell to a majority, and form an army at his devotion. The experiment was first made in the Duke of Berwick's regiment, and five Irishmen were ordered to be put into every company; but when Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, and five of the captains refused to receive them, and desired leave to lay down their commissions rather than do it, they were put in arrest, brought before a council of war, broke with reproach, and declared incapable to serve the King any more. The precedent, however, had this good effect, that it provoked other officers to declare their unwillingness to mix with those of another nation and religion, and discouraged all future attempts of the like nature.

When the King of France sent an account of the preparations in Holland, he made the King an offer of what forces he pleased, and proposed that Portsmouth might be put in their hands to keep open a communication with France. But the nation was beholden to the Earl of Sunderland for diverting this proposal, by suggesting to the King that a small force from France would do no good; would but alienate his people, and drive the army to desertion; and a great one might prove dangerous, might turn their arms in time upon England, and make him but a viceroy to their Prince. And the advice so far prevailed that, the King not heartily embracing the proposal, the French envoy sent word to his master that he might employ his forces that winter another way, which proved fatal advice to the King.

The Court had long denied any apprehensions of an expedition from Holland against them; but now they began to discover themselves, and, in a memorial presented to the States, demanded to know what was the design of those great and surprising preparations at such a season; which when the States, according to their slow method, delayed answering, the French envoy gave in one of a menacing nature, wherein he told them that, as his master understood their preparations were designed against England, he was to let them know the alliance between him and that crown was so strait that he would resent every attempt upon it as an invasion of his own. But there were other disputes between the French and Dutch at this time, which made the States less affected with this threatening, and befriended the Prince's undertaking much.

All the manufactures of Holland, both linen and woollen, and the importation of herrings, except such as were cured with French salt, were prohibited in France. This was a breach upon the articles of commerce; and the States, in return, forbade the importation of French wine and brandy till trade should be brought to another regulation. But the French King was so far from making overtures of this kind, that he seemed now to despise all the world, and was publishing terrible manifestoes against all who pretended to control him.

The Emperor of Germany stood in his way, and obstructed the election of his friend, Cardinal Fürstemburg, to the Electorate of Cologne; whereupon he set forth a long Declaration, which was afterwards the foundation of a lasting war, "That whereas the Emperor, and the Elector Palatine by his encouragement, had offended him in several instances, he would possess himself of Philipsburg, and then demolish it; he would take Kaiserslautern from the Palatine, and keep it; and was resolved to support the Cardinal's pretensions to Cologne."

The Pope had some difference with him about the franchises, which he thought he had a right, in his own capital, to suppress; but the King was so offended at it, that when he sent Count Lavardin, his ambassador, he made him enter Rome in a hostile manner, with some troops of horse, though not in the form of troops, keep guards about his house and in the franchises, and affront the Pope's authority on all occasions; so that the Pope, though he seemed to bear it patiently, grew sullen upon it, and would neither admit him to an audience nor receive any message from his master. This enraged the King so, that he set forth a Declaration, in the form of a letter to Cardinal d'Estrées, to be given to the Pope; wherein, after a long complaint of many affronts and abuses that had been put upon him, and some severe reproaches to his Holiness for breaking the canons of the Church, for neglecting the extirpation of heresy, and for encouraging, by his supineness, the Prince of Orange to invade England, and his emissaries to call the Prince of Wales an impostor, he told him plainly that he was resolved to separate the character of the most Holy Father from that of a temporal prince, and would seize on Avignon and Castro until he should satisfy the pretensions of the Duke of Parma.

There was another incident that was not unfavourable to the Prince's design. Marshal Schomberg, when the persecution in France began, came into Holland, and was thence invited to Berlin by the old Elector of Brandenburg, made Governor of Prussia, and set at the head of the Elector's armies. The son treated him with the same regard, and sent him to Cleves to command the forces that the Emperor had ordered to cover Cologne, and garrison the town against the impressions of the French. When the States thus saw that Cologne was put in secure hands, themselves were out of danger, and the French armies likely to have employment enough this winter, they unanimously concurred in the resolution of furnishing the Prince with the best of their forces, of raising ten thousand more men, and of accepting thirteen thousand Germans that the Prince, as was said before, had stipulated for; so that all things were in a happy disposition, and nothing more was to be dreaded but the wind and waves.

It was late in the season when the Dutch fleet, consisting of about fifty sail, set to sea, commanded by officers of their own, but superintended by Herbert, representing the Prince's person, as Lieutenant-General-Admiral. This was done with a political view, both to gratify the man's pride, and probably to procure a defection in the English fleet, he having been at the head of it so lately. A transport fleet of above five hundred vessels was hired to carry over the army, and arms supernumerary were provided for twenty thousand men.

While all things were in this forwardness, Sidney came over with proper invitations from the persons formerly mentioned, and with such advices as they thought convenient for the Prince to follow. They advised him to come with a large fleet, but a small army, for fear that a large one might raise jealousies, as though he meant a conquest; to land in the north, because the country was well affected, abounded in horses, and had good roads till within fifty miles of London; but not in the west, by reason that Monmouth's ill success, and the late severities thereupon, had dispirited many. Above all, they pressed him to dispatch, and make all possible haste.

The Prince would by no means consent to go over with a small army: he could not tell how the country might be affected at his landing, and whether the King's forces might revolt or not; and therefore he resolved to provide against the worst. Herbert and the rest of the seamen were against landing in the north, as a dangerous coast for the fleet at that season of the year to ride in; and thought the Channel not only much safer for the fleet, but necessary to be guarded, in order to prevent assistance from France. And when some proposed that the Prince would divide his force, land himself with the greatest part in the north, and send a detachment, under Marshal Schomberg, into the west, the Prince readily agreed to take the Marshal with him, and obtained the Elector's consent to let him go; but he rejected the motion of dividing the fleet or army, as apprehensive that the defeat of a detachment might prove the ruin of the whole.

All this while he continued to cover his design, as if it looked towards Cologne, and ordered a review of the army, with an encampment for two months, at Nimeguen. But there was still one thing wanting—how to find money necessary for so expensive an expedition. And in this he was very fortunate again; for the States having raised four millions of guilders for the reparation of their fortresses on the Rhine and the Yssel, when they apprehended a war in the bishopric of Cologne, and now being eased of that fear for this winter, they all consented to lend the Prince the whole money, without so much as one disagreeing vote.

Nothing now was wanting but a Declaration proper for the Prince to publish at his landing; and as pensioner Fagel drew it up (though not to every one's taste and liking), it set forth the many violations of the laws of England during the King's reign in the matters of religion, civil government, and the administration of justice; and that, as all milder remedies had proved ineffectual, and applications for redress been accounted criminal, the Prince, at the earnest invitation of men of all ranks, came over to rescue the constitution from ruin, to preserve the Church and established religion, to assert his Princess's right to the succession, and to call a free Parliament, to whom he would refer the examination of the Queen's delivery, and abide by their decision. And at the same time he ordered letters to be written in his name, inviting both the soldiers, seamen, and others to come and join with him, in order to secure their religion, laws, and liberties.

When all matters were thus provided, the troops marched from Nimeguen in the beginning of October, to be put on board in the Zuyder Zee, where they lay above ten days before they could get out of the Texel. The wind came about to the east on the 16th, when orders were given to haste to Helvoetsluys, and the Prince, taking his leave of the States, told them "that as he was very sensible of their kindness on several occasions, so he had hitherto served them with the utmost fidelity, and whatever errors had been in his judgment, his heart and intentions were always fixed on their prosperity; that now he was going to England for no other purposes than were expressed in his Declaration. How God would dispose of him he knew not; but he committed his country to their care, and recommended his Princess to their protection, and whatever happened to him, he hoped they would not forsake her." The parting was sad, but very kind. Some of every province offered at an answer; but they were all melted into tears and passion, so that their speeches were much broken, very short, and extremely tender.[1]

When the Prince came to Helvoetsluys, the transport fleet had consumed so much of their provisions that three days of good wind were lost before they could be furnished with fresh supplies. On the 19th of October he went aboard, and the whole fleet sailed out at night; but the next day the wind chopping about, and settling in the north-west, it blew so strong a storm for four-and-twenty hours, that, the wind being contrary and the ships in danger of running foul of one another, a signal was given to go in again, and in a few days they got all safe into port without any considerable loss, except five hundred horses that died for want of air.

Great consultations were in the meantime held at Court, and strong preparations made for a defence. The Earl of Melfort and others proposed to seize all suspected persons, and to send them to Portsmouth; but the Earl of Sunderland diverted that notion, and advised the King rather to do such popular things as might give content and abate the ferment of the nation. But however his advice was followed, himself was soon turned out of all for giving it, as a betrayer of the King's counsels, and Lord Preston was made Secretary of State.

A strong fleet was put to sea, which, had it met the Dutch

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[1] I was invited to go along with the Prince as his chaplain, and accepted the appointment, being well satisfied of the lawfulness of the undertaking. The Princess had no scruple about the lawfulness of the design, but seemed to have a great load on her spirits. She was very solemn and serious, and prayed God earnestly to bless and direct us.

(considering the many transports they had to cover), would have probably been too hard for them. All the forces in Scotland were ordered up, some regiments in Ireland were brought over, and the King's army, when all together, was reckoned about thirty thousand strong.

The King sent for the bishops, and assuring them of his affections to the Church, and how an equal liberty of conscience was all that he intended, he desired them to declare their abhorrence of the unnatural invasion the Prince was designing, and to give him their advice what to do. They declined the point of abhorrence; but they advised him to summon a Parliament, to dissolve the Ecclesiastical Commission, to reverse the proceedings against the Bishop of London and Magdalen College, and to put the laws again in their proper channel; and he followed their advice so far, that the old charters were restored, some writs for a Parliament were sealed and given out, and an order was sent to the Bishop of Winchester to put the President of Magdalen College in possession again. But when news was brought that the Prince and his fleet were blown back, the writs were called in again, and the order was countermanded, which plainly showed what it was that influenced the Court to such compliance, and how long that influence was likely to last.

But the point wherein the King thought himself most concerned to give the nation satisfaction was the birth of the Prince of Wales; and therefore he called together not only the judges and Privy Councillors, but all the nobility likewise then in town, and complaining much of the injury that was done both him and the Queen in charging them with so black an imposture (few princes having been born in the presence of more witnesses than were at his son's birth), he desired them to hear what the proofs were of that matter. It was proved that the Queen was delivered while many were in the room, who saw the child soon after her delivery; but the midwife was the only evidence in this article. It was proved that milk was seen to flow from the Queen's breasts, and the marks were observed upon her linen; but the time of seeing it was said to be before, not after, her delivery. Mrs. Price, the laundress, deposed that she once took linen from the Queen's body that carried the marks of a delivery; but she spoke but of once. The Countess of Sunderland and Lady Wentworth deposed to other proofs of the Queen's maternity; and being both unbribable to utter an untruth, they were probably mistaken or deceived. However this was, these depositions, when they came to be published, were thought at that time so apparently defective, that instead of lessening, they did but increase the jealousy, making the people impatient for the Prince's arrival, and wish for an east wind, which on that occasion was called a Protestant wind.

The Protestant wind came at last, which both locked the English ships up in the river, and carried the Dutch fleet out to sea. On the 1st of November, O.S., we sailed out with the evening tide, and having the sea clear and a fair navigation, shaped our course to the west. On the 3rd we passed between Dover and Calais, and before it grew night came in sight of the Isle of Wight. The next was the anniversary of the day on which the Prince was born and married, and to land on that day he fancied would seem auspicious, and animate the soldiers; but the day following, it was thought (being Gunpowder Treason day), would most sensibly affect the English. Torbay was thought the best place for the fleet to lie in, and it was proposed to land the army as near as possible; but when it was perceived next morning that we had overrun it, and had nowhere to go now but to Plymouth, where we could promise ourselves no favourable reception, the Admiral began to give up all for lost, till the wind abating, and turning to the south, with a soft and gentle gale carried the whole fleet into Torbay in the space of four hours.

The foot immediately went on shore, the horse were next day landed, and the artillery and heavy baggage sent to Topsham, the seaport of Exeter, where the Prince intended to stay some time, both to refresh his men and to give the country an opportunity to declare its affections. When the Prince entered Exeter, the Bishop and Dean ran away, the clergy stood off, the magistrates were fearful, and it was a full week before any gentlemen of the country joined him, though they saw every day persons of condition coming in to him—among the first of whom was Lord Colchester, eldest son to the Earl of Rivers, Lord Wharton, Lord Abingdon, and Mr. Russell, Lord Russell's brother.

Seymour was then Recorder of Exeter. He joined the Prince, with several other gentlemen of quality and estate, and gave the good advice of having an association[1] signed by all who came in, as the only means to prevent desertion, and to secure them entirely to the Prince's party.

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[1] I drew it up, and it was engrossed on parchment, and signed by all those who came in to the Prince. It was an engagement to stick together in pursuing the ends of the Prince's Declaration, and, if any attempt should be made on his person, to revenge it on all by whom or for whom such attempt should be made.

The heads of the university of Oxford sent Dr. Finch, son to the Earl of Winchelsea, then made Warden of All Souls College, to assure the Prince that they would declare for him, inviting him at the same time to come to Oxford, and to accept of their plate if he needed it. A sudden turn from those principles which they carried so high not many years before! But all this was but a small accession.

The King came down to Salisbury, and sent his troops twenty miles farther; whereupon the Prince, leaving Devonshire and Exeter under Seymour's government, with a small garrison and the heavy artillery under Colonel Gibson, who was made Deputy Governor as to the military part, advanced with his army; and understanding that some officers of note (Lord Cornbury, Colonel Langston, and others) designed to come over and bring their men with them, but that they could not depend on their subalterns, he ordered a body of his men to advance, and favour their revolt. The parties were within two miles of one another, when the whisper ran about that they were betrayed, which put them in such confusion that many rode back, though one whole regiment, and about a hundred besides, came over in a body, which gave great encouragement to the Prince's party, and (as it was managed by the flatterers) was made an instance to the King of his army's fidelity to him, since those who attempted to lead their regiments away were forced to do it by stratagem, which, as soon as they perceived, they deserted their leaders and came back.

But all this would not pacify the King's uneasy mind. His spirits sank, his blood was in such a fermentation that it gushed out of his nose several times a day, and with this hurry of thought and dejection of mind all things about him began to put on a gloomy aspect. The spies that he sent out took his money, but never returned to bring him any information; so that he knew nothing but what common report told him, which magnified the number of his enemies, and made him believe the Prince was coming upon him before he had moved from Exeter. The city of London, he heard, was unquiet; the Earls of Devonshire and Danby and Lord Lumley were drawing great bodies of men in Yorkshire; the Lord Delamere had a regiment in Cheshire; York and Newcastle had declared for the Prince; and the bulk of the nation did so evidently discover their inclinations for him, that the King saw he had nothing to trust to but his army; and the army, he began to fear, was not to be relied on. In conclusion, when he heard that Lord Churchill and the Duke of Grafton (who was one of King Charles's sons by the Duchess of Cleveland), and the most gallant of all he had, were gone to the Prince, and soon after that Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, and the Lord Drumlanrig, eldest son to the Duke of Queensberry, had forsaken him, he was quite confounded, and not knowing whom to depend on any longer, or what further designs might be against him, he instantly went to London.

The Princess Anne, when she heard of the King's return, was so struck with the apprehension of his displeasure, and what possibly might be the consequence of it, that she persuaded Lady Churchill to prevail with the Bishop of London to carry them both off. The Bishop, as it was agreed, received them about midnight at the back-stairs, and carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, where they were furnished with what they wanted, and so conducted them to Northampton, where that Earl soon provided a body of horse to serve the Princess as her guard; and not long after a small army was formed about her, which, according to their desire, was commanded by the Bishop of London.

At this time there was a foolish ballad[1] went about, treating the Papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a ridiculous manner, which made an impression on the army, and thence on the whole country, not to be imagined but by those who saw it; and a bold man adventured to publish in the Prince's name another Declaration, setting forth the desperate designs of the Papists, and the great danger the nation was in by their means, and requiring all persons to turn them out of their employments, to secure all strong places, and to do their utmost in order to execute the laws, and bring all things again into their proper channel. The paper was penned with a good spirit, though none ever claimed the merit of it, and no doubt being made but that it was published by the Prince's direction, it set everything to work, and put the rabble and apprentices to pulling down mass-houses and doing many irregular actions.

When the King saw himself thus forsaken, not only by those whom he had trusted and favoured most, but even by his own children, the army in the last distraction, the country on every side revolting, and the City in an ungovernable fermentation, he called a general meeting of all the Privy Councillors and peers in town to ask their advice and what was fit to be done. The general advice was that he should send commissioners to the Prince to treat with him, which, though sore against the King's inclination, the dejection he was in and the desperate state of his affairs made him consent to. The persons appointed were the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin; and when they had waited on the Prince at Hungerford, desiring to know what it was that he demanded, after a day's consultation with those who were about him, he returned answer "that he desired a Parliament might be presently called, and no one continued in any employment who would not qualify himself according to law; that the Tower of London might be put in the keeping of the City, and the fleet and all strong places in the hands of Protestants; that the armies on both sides might not, while the Parliament was sitting, come within twenty miles of London; that a proportion of the revenue might be set apart for the payment of the Prince's army, and himself allowed to come to London with the same number of guards that the King had."

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[1] The ballad has for its burden, said to be in Irish, "Lero, lero, lillibulero."

These were the Prince's demands, which, when the King read, he owned were more moderate than he expected; but before they came to his hands he had engaged himself in other resolutions. The priests and all violent Papists, who saw that a treaty with the Prince would not only ruin their whole design, but expose them as a mark and sacrifice to the malice of their enemies, persuaded the Queen that she would certainly be impeached, that witnesses would be set up against her and her son, and that nothing but violence could be expected. With these suggestions they wrought upon her fear so far, that she not only resolved to go into France herself, and take the child with her, but prevailed with the King likewise to follow her in a few days. The Queen went down to Portsmouth, and from thence in a man-of-war went over to France, taking along with her the midwife and those who were concerned in her son's birth, who not long after were all so disposed of that it never could be yet learned what became of them; and on the 10th of December, about three in the morning, the King went away in disguise with Sir Edward Hales, whose servant he pretended to be. They passed the river, throwing the Great Seal into it, which was afterwards found by a fisherman near Vauxhall, and in a miserable fisher-boat, which Hales had provided to carry them over to France, when, not having gone far, some fishermen of Feversham, who were watching for priests and such other delinquents as they fancied were making their escape, came up to them, and, knowing Sir Edward Hales, took both the King and him, and brought them to Feversham.

It was strange that a great king, who had a good army and a strong fleet, should choose rather to abandon all than either try his fate with that part of the army that stood firm to him, or stay and see the issue of Parliament. This was variously imputed to his want of courage, his consciousness of guilt, or the advice of those about him; but so it was that his deserting in this manner, and leaving them to be pillaged by an army that he had ordered to be disbanded without pay, was thought the forfeiture of his right and the expiration of his reign; and with this notion I now proceed to relate what passed in the Interregnum (though under the same title still) until the throne, which was then left vacant, came to be filled.

When it was noised about town that the King was gone, the apprentices and rabble, supposing the priests had persuaded him to it, broke out again with fresh fury upon all suspected houses, and did much havoc in many places. They met with Jeffreys as he was making his escape in disguise, and he, being known by some of them, was insulted with all the scorn and rudeness that malice could invent, and after some hours' tossing about, was carried to the Lord Mayor to be committed to the Tower, which Lord Lucas had now seized, and in it declared for the Prince.

The Lord Mayor was so struck with the terror of the rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits, of which he died soon after; but to prevent all future disorders in the City, he called a meeting of the Privy Councillors and Peers at Guildhall, who all agreed to send an invitation to the Prince, desiring him to come and take the government of the nation into his hands until a Parliament should meet and reduce all things to a proper settlement.

The Prince was at Abingdon when the news of the King's desertion and the City's disorder met him, and upon this it was proposed that he should make all imaginable haste to London; but some were against it, because, though there had been but two small actions, one at Winkinton, in Dorsetshire, and the other at Reading, during the whole campaign, in neither of which the King's forces gave them much reason to dread them, yet there were so many of the disbanded soldiers scattered along the road, all the way to London, that it was thought unsafe for the Prince to advance faster than his troops could march before him, which delay was attended with very bad consequences.

When the people of Feversham understood that it was the King they had in their custody, they changed their rough usage into all the respect they could possibly pay him. The country came in, and were moved with this astonishing instance of all worldly greatness, that he who had ruled three kingdoms, and might have been arbiter of all Europe, was now found in such mean hands, and in so low an equipage; and when the news was brought to London, all the indignation that was formerly conceived against him was turned into pity and compassion. The Privy Council upon this occasion met, and agreed to have the King sent for. The Earl of Feversham went with the coaches and guards to bring him back. In his passage through the City he was welcomed by great numbers with loud acclamations of joy, and at his coming to Whitehall had a numerous Court; but when he came to reflect on the state of his affairs, he found them in so ruinous a condition, that there was no possibility of making any stand; and therefore he sent the Earl of Feversham (but without demanding a pass) to Windsor, to desire the Prince to come to St. James's and consult with him the best means of settling the nation.

The Prince had some reason to take this procedure of the Council amiss, after they had invited him to take the government into his own hands; and because the Earl of Feversham had commanded the army against him, and was now come without a passport, it was thought advisable to put him in arrest. The tender point was how to dispose of the King's person; and when some proposed rougher methods, such as keeping him in prison or sending him to Breda, at least until the nation was settled, the Prince would not consent to it; for he was for no violence or compulsion upon him, though he held it necessary for their mutual quiet and safety that he should remove from London.

When this was resolved on, the Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere were appointed to go and order the English guards to be drawn off, and sent into country quarters, while Count Solms with the Dutch was to come and take all the posts about Court. The thing was executed without resistance, but not without murmuring, and it was near midnight before all was settled, when the lords sent notice to the King that they had a message to deliver to him. They told him "the necessity of affairs required that the Prince should come presently to London, and they thought it would conduce both to the safety of the King's person and the quiet of the City to have him retire to some house out of town, and they named Ham; adding that he should be attended with a guard, but only to secure his person, and not give him any disturbance." When the lords had delivered their message they withdrew; but the King sent immediately after them to know if the Prince would permit him to go to Rochester. It was soon seen that the intent of this was to forward his escape, and therefore the Prince willingly consented to it; and as the King next day went out of town, the Prince came through the park privately to St. James's, which disgusted many who had stood some time in the wet to see him. The next day all the bishops in town (except the Archbishop, who had once agreed to do it), the clergy of London, and the several companies of the City came to welcome him, and express a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought by his means. As the Prince took notice of Serjeant Maynard's great age, and how he had outlived all the men of the law, he answered he had like to have outlived the law itself, had not his Highness come over to their relief.

When compliments were over, the first thing that came under consultation was how to settle the nation. The lawyers were of opinion that the Prince might declare himself king, as Henry VII. had done, and then call a Parliament, which would be a legal assembly; but their notion in this was so contrary to the Prince's Declaration, and so liable to give offence, that it could not be admitted. Upon this the Prince called together all the peers and members of the three late Parliaments that were in town, together with some of the citizens of London, desiring their advice in the present conjuncture. They agreed in an address to him that he would write missive letters round the nation, in such manner as the writs were issued out, for sending up representatives, and that in the meantime he would be pleased to take the administration of the government into his hands.

While these things were carrying on in London, the King at Rochester was left in full liberty, and had all the respect paid to him that he could wish. Most of the Dutch guards that attended him happened to be Papists; and when he went to mass they went with him, and joined very reverently in the devotion; whereupon, being asked how they could serve in an expedition that was intended to destroy their own religion, one of them answered briskly that his soul was God's, but his sword was the Prince of Orange's. The King continued there a week, and many who were zealous for his interest went to him, and desired him to stay and see the result. But while he was distracted between his own inclinations and his friends' importunities, a letter came from the Queen reminding him of his promise, and upbraiding him for not performing it, which determined his purpose; and on the last day of this memorable year he went from Rochester very secretly, and got safely into France, leaving a paper on his table, wherein he reproached the nation for forsaking him, and promised that, though he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his throne, yet he would make no use of it either to overthrow the established religion or the laws of the land.

Thus was the Revolution brought about in England, with the general applause of the nation: only some few steps in the latter part of it were not so well approved. The waking the King out of his sleep in his own palace, and ordering him to be gone, when he was ready to submit to anything; the placing a strange guard about him, dismounting his own, and posting the Dutch where the English used to stand, looking like a compulsion upon his person, gave some disgust, and furnished an excuse for his going away.

In Scotland the people discovered their inclination to the Revolution, and an approbation of what had been done. As soon as the news of the King's desertion came to Edinburgh, the rabble got together as they had done in London, broke into all Popish chapels, defaced the church of Holyrood House, which had been richly adorned for a royal chapel, seized on all who were thought delinquents, and had them committed to prison. In the western counties the Presbyterians went further, and, to revenge themselves for their former sufferings, broke in upon the Episcopal clergy with great cruelty, carried them about the parishes in a mock procession, and then drove them with great violence from their churches and houses. The bishops, when they heard that the Dutch fleet was blown back, had written an indecent letter to the King, full of injurious expressions towards the Prince, expressing their abhorrence of the design, and wishing the King might have the necks of all his enemies. Now they themselves began to find the effects of it. The whole Episcopal party, in short, finding themselves under a cloud, had no other refuge but to shelter themselves under the Earl of Dundee, an able officer, who had served some years in Holland, a man of great parts and some very valuable virtues, but extremely proud and ambitious, as well as severe in the execution of all penal orders in the late administration; for the whole kingdom, except the Castle of Edinburgh, had declared for the Prince. The nobility and men of quality had sent an address, much in the same terms with what had been made him here in England, and the whole Isle of Great Britain, in short, was now put in his hands.

But things had not the same favourable aspect in Ireland. Tyrconnel, who was the Lord-Lieutenant, gave out new commissions for levying thirty thousand men, and a report was spread about that a general massacre of the Protestants was intended in November, upon which the Protestants began to run together for their common defence both in Munster and Ulster. In Ulster they had some strength to make a defence with, and a set of brave young men had secured two towns, Londonderry and Enniskillen, which had a good situation, but no great store of provisions in them, refusing to admit a Popish garrison, and resolved to stand it out till supplies should be sent them from England; but in Munster the people, not being in any condition to make resistance, came over in great numbers to England, full of petitions for assistance and of dismal apprehensions for those they had left behind.

When these petitions were brought before the Council, some were of opinion that Ireland would follow the fate of England, and that Tyrconnel (as he made them believe) would deliver up the government, upon assurance of good terms for himself and the Irish. Others thought it might be useful at the present conjuncture to leave Ireland in that dangerous state, in order to induce the Convention, when it met, to settle the government of England more speedily. The Prince himself did not sufficiently apprehend the consequences of this revolt in Ireland, and was much blamed for not attending to it in more critical time; but the truth is he knew not whom to trust. The English army was now turning against him as fast as they had come in to him before, and would have probably joined Tyrconnel had they been sent over on a different errand.

His own troops were what he had to depend on to maintain the quiet of England; and though raising new forces would be a work of time, the magazines were empty, and until new stores were provided there was no ammunition to spare; but supposing there had been, there was no ship-of-war in those seas to secure the transports; and to send a small force and supply, which was all that could be done at present, would only be throwing both them and it away.

Under these considerations, one Hamilton was recommended to the Prince by the Temples (for Sir William had a brother and a son who made a considerable figure at that time) as a man fit to negotiate the surrender of Ireland. He was a Papist, but thought to be a man of honour, and had certainly had great credit with the Earl of Tyrconnel; but when he came to Dublin, instead of executing the message he was sent upon, he represented to Tyrconnel that things in England were turning fast in favour of the King, and that if he stood his ground a little, all would come round again: only he was to amuse them in London with sham pretences of surrendering until a fleet and some supplies could be brought from France. This gave the beginning to the war in Ireland, and had that terrible effect upon Sir William Temple's son, who had raised in the Prince a high opinion of Hamilton's honour, that he soon after threw himself overboard from a boat in the Thames, and was drowned.

Before the Convention (for so the Parliament was called that was summoned by the Prince's letters) was met to settle the nation, there was a loan begun in the City for the payment of the English and Dutch forces, and for disbanding such troops as were known to be Papists among the English, which had this good effect—that it made a discovery who were well and ill affected to the Prince, the one pretending there was no security for the repayment of their money, and the other subscribing liberally, in confidence that a parliamentary provision would be made for repayment in due time. And besides this, it gave some probable indications of what the result of the ensuing Convention might be.

The Convention was opened on the 24th of January, with a full house of bishops and lords temporal. Only Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, came not to take his place, which at such a conjuncture, and considering his high station in the Church, was thought very unbecoming of him If anything was doing amiss, he ought to have opposed it; but he was a poor-spirited and fearful man, and in all this great transaction acted a very mean part. When the debates began to come on, there appeared three different parties upon the matter of settling the nation. The first was for calling back the King, the second for appointing a Prince Regent, and the third for setting the Prince of Orange on the throne.

Those who were for restoring the King were at the same time for laying him under such restraints, and treating with him for such security to religion and the laws, as might put them out of danger of an arbitrary and dispensing power for the future; but the imposing limitations on the crown was so contrary to their own doctrine of absolute submission and obedience, and so unlikely to be observed when once the King was reinstated, that the proposition was dropped, and the men who first advanced it fell into the notions of such as were for putting a Prince Regent into the administration.

Those who were for this expedient (among whom the Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rochester were chief in the debate) were of opinion that the King, by his maladministration, having brought himself into an incapacity of holding the exercise of the sovereign power any longer in his own hand, there might another be appointed to the exercise thereof (as in case of infants and lunatics), and the right of sovereignty still remain in him, which would be an effectual means to save the nation, and at the same time secure the honour of the Church of England and the sacredness of the crown. And for the support of their opinion in this matter they urged both from the laws and history of England that not only the person, but authority of the King too, was sacred; that they could not set him aside without making the crown precarious, and breaking in upon the lineal succession; that the law had provided a remedy, which was a Regent, in cases of incapacity, and the King having brought himself into such a state, the putting the nation under such a regulation was both providing for its security and keeping the constitution entire; whereas all other expedients only gratified a Republican party, made up of Dissenters and men of no religion, who wanted nothing more than a titular and precarious king. And to this scheme a majority among the Lords and a third part of the House of Commons adhered, but with different views; some from a real persuasion of the great expediency of the thing, and others out of hopes of restoring the King by this means both to the sovereign power and exercise thereof after some short interval of time.

Those who were for setting aside King James, and placing another on the throne, were of opinion that, both from precedents in history and the ancient forms of coronation still in use, there was a mutual contract between the King and the people of England; that as the one promised obedience to their prince, the other engaged to defend his subjects, and govern according to law; and that when he acted contrary thereunto he had forfeited his title to their allegiance and all right to rule over them. Now the King, they said, had broken the laws in many public and avowed instances, had set up an open treaty with France, had shaken the settlement of Ireland, had assumed a dispensing power to invalidate all laws, had set up an Ecclesiastical Commission to oppress the Church, and had finally deserted his people, and fled to a foreign power and known enemy to the nation, rather than stay and submit to the determination of a free Parliament; upon which they inferred that he had both lost his right and left the government, and that the throne was then vacant, and ought to be filled.

And for the defence of this opinion, and opposition to a Prince Regent, they urged that though, in cases of incapacity, the law directed a Regent, yet the Regent was in law the same person with the King; and the King having no will of his own, his will was properly the King's; whereas, in the present case, there would, in effect, be two kings, with different wills and investitures—one with the title, and another with the power, in perpetual contests with one another—the one to recover his power, and the other to preserve his authority, which would involve the nation in daily wars and conflicts, and disable the subject either to serve the Crown or pay his obedience with security; as, on the other hand, their scheme, they said, would put all things in the same channel, preserve the monarchy as it was before, and, by virtue of a statute made by Henry VII., secure the subject in obeying the king appointed. But among these two parties there were men of different views. Some thought on this occasion to depress the Crown, and raise the power of the people upon the ruin of monarchy; and others only proposed it as the least deviation from the constitution, the best expedient for the present exigence, but never to be used as a precedent, except in cases of the like necessity. And upon the prevalence of these considerations, the Commons came to a resolution:—"That King James, by breaking the original contract and withdrawing himself from his people, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby become vacant;" and sent this vote to the Lords, praying their concurrence, upon which a free conference began.

Some found fault with the original contract, asking where it was kept, or how it might be come at. But this, it was answered, was always implied in any legal government where there was a mutual stipulation between prince and people. Others did not like the word abdicate, as being sometimes taken in an active sense, and denoting the full consent of him that did it. But authorities were brought to prove that when a person did a thing which ought to vacate his office, he was properly said to abdicate. The most important debate among them was, how the throne could be said to be vacant, since it was a known maxim that the King of England never died: though, therefore, it were allowed that the King had abdicated for himself, yet the throne was that instant filled by the next heir. And to this the supporters of the abdication answered, that if the King forfeited for himself, he forfeited for his heirs likewise; that, if subjects might put themselves in a state of security against the King by excluding him, they might do the same against those who would probably study to dissolve and revenge all they had done; and that though, in point of natural right and for quiet of the nation, the lineal succession ought to be adhered to, yet, in cases of an extraordinary nature (as this was known to be), it might be suspended.

This, however, brought on a motion that the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales might be inquired into; not that those who made it intended to assert his right to the vacant throne in case it was found real, but they thought it might justify the nation, and more particularly the Prince and two Princesses, in the present procedure, if, upon inquiry, it was found to be an imposture. The motion, however, was rejected with indignation. He was sent out of England, it was said, to be bred up in France, an enemy both to the nation and established religion: whether he was the same person that had been carried over it was impossible for the people of England to know. Those who were privy to the affair of his birth were conveyed away, none knew whither; nor was it, indeed, worth the nation's while to send into another country for witnesses to prove that he was their prince. The truth is, the King had succeeded so ill in proving the reality of his son's birth that he made it more suspected; and unless the imposture, on the other hand, could be made out beyond the possibility of contradiction, the examining into it, they thought, would but strengthen the pretension of its reality; besides that it would be a good security to the nation to have a dormant title to the crown in store, thereby to oblige our princes to govern well, for fear of a revolting to a pretender.

Thus, when the throne was declared vacant, the King abdicated, and his son excluded from the succession, the next thing in debate was, who should fill the throne and take possession of the kingdom. The Earl of Halifax, to make atonement for his late coming in, moved that the crown should be given to the Prince, and to the two Princesses after him. And whatever the Prince's sentiments might be, it is certain that Bentinck had his arguments for it, viz.: "That a man's wife ought to be his wife, in subjection to him; that the sovereignty was most properly in one person; that a division of it might be attended with fatal consequences; and that the people were bound to do this for the Prince, in return for what he had done for them." To this I answered, with some vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the steps the Princess had made to the Prince three years ago; it would be thought both unjust and ungrateful; it would meet with great opposition, and give a general ill impressing of the Prince, as insatiable and jealous in his ambition: there was already an ill-humour spreading itself through the nation and through the clergy, which such a step would be sure to increase. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I saw he was well instructed in the argument; and he himself was possessed with it. So next morning I came to him, and desired my *congé*. I would oppose nothing in which the Prince seemed to be concerned, as long as I was his servant; and therefore I desired to be disengaged, that I might be free to oppose this proposition with all the strength and credit I had. He answered me that I might desire that when I saw a step made; but till then he wished me to stay where I was. This opinion of Lord Halifax, however, had but a few abettors. Others moved that the Princess of Orange might be put in the throne, and after that consign what share, either of dignity or power, she should think fit to the Prince. But the most prevailing proposition was, that the Prince and Princess should be made conjoint sovereigns; only that, for the prevention of any distractions, the administration should be singly in him.

The Earl of Danby sent over an account of these debates to the Princess, desiring to know her sense of the matter, for that, if she desired it, he thought he was able to carry the point for her alone. But her answer was that, as she was the Prince's wife, she would never do anything but in conjunction with him, and should take it very ill in any, under a pretended concern for her right, to set up a divided interest between them; and, to discourage all such practices for the future, she sent to the Prince both Lord Danby's letter and her own answer. But the Prince was so far from expostulating against this double dealing with him, that he not only continued to employ and trust him, but advanced him afterwards, first to be a marquis, and then a duke.

The truth is, the Prince's behaviour during these debates in Parliament was very mysterious. He stayed at St. James's, went little abroad, saw few people, heard all that was said, answered nothing, neither affected to be affable or popular, nor took any pains to gain over one person to his party. At last, after a long course of reservedness, he called some leading men of the House of Lords to him, and explained himself more distinctly. He told them that he had been silent all that while because he would not, in any degree, hinder their freedom of debate in matters of such importance; but understanding that some were for putting the government in the hands of a Regent, he thought proper to acquaint them that he would never accept of that office, and therefore he wished them to look out another person, if they persisted in that resolution. Others," he said, "were for putting the Princess singly on the throne, and making him reign by her courtesy; but, if that was their design, he desired to have nothing to do with the government, and would go back to Holland, where he could live very happy and contented without a crown. In conclusion, he said he could never think of accepting any dignity unless it were settled on his own person, and for the term of his own life, though he thought it right that the issue of the Princess Anne should be preferred in the succession to any issue he might have by any other wife, in case he survived the Princess.

This was delivered in a cold and unaffected manner; and those who did not know him, and judged of others by themselves, took it all for artifice and contrivance. It helped, however, not a little to bring the debates in Westminster to a speedy determination; and, as the matter stuck with the House of Lords, it was brought at last to so near an equality, the party for a regency being for some time the most prevailing in a House of about one hundred and twenty, that to agree with the Commons in voting the abdication and vacancy of the throne, was carried by a majority of but two or three, and not without a numerous protest; and the vote to desire the Prince and Princess of Orange to accept of the crown, and to declare them King and Queen, went very hardly. The poor Bishop of Durham merited at least a pardon for the past by voting for the new establishment, which was thought, however, very indecent in him, though not unbecoming the rest of his life and character.

There was nothing now remaining but to frame an instrument setting forth the chief heads of King James's ill government, and in opposition to these the rights and liberties of the people of England, to be like a Magna Charta between prince and subject, and to instruct posterity in the reasons of this new establishment. And to make all uniform and of a piece, it was thought advisable to adjust the oaths of allegiance, &c., to this settlement, and in the beginning of a new government at least to make them as general and comprehensive as might be.

All things were ready for filling the throne; and the very night before it was to be done, the Princess arrived from Holland, and put on an air of gaiety which did not so well become her, considering the sad catastrophe of her father's fate; but the Prince's injunction was at first, at least, that she should not show discontent in her looks. The next day, which was the 12th of February, the two Houses waited upon their Royal Highnesses with the offer of the crown. And thus I have given the fullest and most particular account I could gather of all that passed during this weak, inactive, violent, and superstitious reign of a weak, unfortunate prince, who by the persuasion of a revengeful Italian lady, and by the projects of a set of hot, meddling priests, was induced to make that reign, whose rise was bright and prosperous, soon set in darkness and disgrace.

BOOK V

REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III AND MARY II

I NOW begin, on the first day of May, 1705, to prosecute this work, and have before me a reign that drew upon it a universal expectation of great things to follow from such auspicious beginnings, and from so general a joy as was spread over these nations and all the neighbouring kingdoms and states, of whom some had apprehended a general depression, if not the total ruin of the Protestant religion; and all of them saw such a progress made by the French in the design of enslaving the rest of Europe, that the check which the Revolution in England seemed to promise, put a new life in those who before were sunk in despair. It seemed to be a double-bottomed monarchy, where there were two joint sovereigns; but those who knew the Queen's temper and principles had no apprehensions of divided counsels or of a distracted government.

That which gave the most melancholy prospect was the ill state of the King's health, whose stay so long at St. James's without exercise or hunting, which was so much used by him that it was become necessary, had brought him under such a weakness as was likely to have very ill effects; and the face he forced himself to set upon it, that it might not appear too much, made an impression on his temper. He was apt to be peevish; it put him under a necessity of being much in his closet, and of being silent and reserved, which, agreeing so well with his natural disposition, made him go off from what all his friends had advised, and he had promised them he would set about, of being more visible, open, and communicative. The nation had been so much accustomed to this in the two former reigns, that many studied to persuade him it would be necessary for his affairs to change his way, that he might be more accessible and freer in his discourse. He seemed resolved on it, but he said his ill-health made it impossible for him to execute it; and so he went on in his former way, or rather, he grew more retired, and was not easily come at nor spoken to. And in a very few days after he was set on the throne he went out to Hampton Court, and from that palace he came into town only on Council days, so that the face of a Court, and the rendezvous usual in the public rooms, were now quite broken. This gave an early and general disgust. The gaiety and the diversions of a court disappeared, and though the Queen set herself to make up what was wanting in the King, by a great vivacity and cheerfulness, yet when it appeared that she meddled not in business, so that few found their account in making their court to her, though she gave a wonderful content to all that came near her, yet few came.

The King found the air of Hampton Court agreed so well with him that he resolved to live the greatest part of the year there; but that palace was so very old built, and so irregular, that a design was formed of raising new buildings there for the King and the Queen's apartments. This showed a resolution to live at a distance from London, and the entering so soon on so expensive a building afforded matter of censure to those who were disposed enough to entertain it. And this spread a universal discontent in the city of London; and these small and almost undiscernible beginnings and seeds of ill-humour have ever since gone on in a very visible increase and progress.

The first thing the King did was to choose a ministry and to settle a Council. The Earl of Shrewsbury was declared Secretary of State, and had the greatest share of the King's confidence. No exception could be made to the choice save on account of his youth; but he applied himself to business with great diligence, and maintained his candour and temper with more reservedness than was expected from one of his age.

The High Church party did apprehend that the opposition they had given the King's advancement, and the zeal that others had showed for it, would alienate him from them, and throw him into other hands, from whom no good was to be expected for them, and they looked for severe revenges for the hardships they had put on these in the end of King Charles's reign. This grew daily upon that party, and made them begin to look back toward King James. So, not to provoke so great a body too much, it was thought advisable to employ the Earl of Nottingham. The great increase of Chancery business had made many apprehend it was too much to be trusted to one person, so it was resolved to put the Chancery in commission, and the Earl of Nottingham was proposed to be the first in the commission, but he refused it. So Maynard, Keck, and Rawlinson, three eminent lawyers, were made the three Commissioners of the Great Seal; and soon after that the Earl of Nottingham was appointed Secretary of State. This gave as much satisfaction to all the High party as it begot jealousies and distrust in others. The Earl of Danby was made Marquis of Carmarthen, and President of the Council; and Lord Halifax had the Privy Seal. Lord Mordaunt was made Earl of Monmouth, and First Commissioner of the Treasury; and Lord Delamere, made Earl of Warrington, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Godolphin was likewise brought into the Treasury, to the great grief of the other two, who soon saw that the King considered him more than them both; for, as he understood Treasury business well, so his calm and cold way suited the King's temper.

Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming of the judges. The King ordered every Privy Councillor to bring a list of twelve, and out of these twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen. This nomination was generally well received over the nation. The first of these was Sir John Holt, made Lord Chief Justice of England, then a young man for so high a post, who maintained it all his time with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great dispatch, so that since the Lord Chief Justice Hale's time that bench had not been so well filled as it was by him.

The King's chief personal favour lay between Bentinck and Sidney. The former was made Earl of Portland and Groom of the Stole, and continued for ten years to be entirely trusted by the King, and served him with great fidelity and obsequiousness, but he could never bring himself to be acceptable to the English nation. The other was made, first, Lord Sidney, and then Earl of Rumney, and was put in several great posts. He was made Secretary of State, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Master of the Ordnance; but he was so set on pleasure that he was not able to follow business with a due application. The Earls of Devonshire and Dorset had the white staves; the first was Lord Steward, and the other was Lord Chamberlain, and they being both Whigs, the household was made up of such, except where there were buyers for places which were set to sale; and though the King seemed to discourage that, yet he did not encourage propositions that were made for the detecting of those practices. Thus was the Court, the Ministry, and the Council composed. The Admiralty was put in commission, and Herbert, made Earl of Torrington, was first in the commission. He tried to dictate to the Board, and when he found that did not pass upon them, he left it, and studied all he could to disparage their conduct; and it was thought he hoped to have been advanced to that high trust alone.

In order to avoid the excitement of a new election, a bill to convert the Convention into a Parliament passed through both Houses, and had the royal assent on the 23rd of February. Eight bishops absented themselves, who were Sancroft of Canterbury, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Turner of Ely, Lloyd of Norwich, Ken of Bath and Wells, Frampton of Gloucester, and White of Peterborough. But in the meanwhile, that they might recommend themselves by a show of moderation, some of them moved the House of Lords, before they withdrew from it, for a bill of toleration and another of comprehension, and these were drawn and offered by the Earl of Nottingham; and, as he said to me, they were the same that he had prepared for the House of Commons in King Charles's time, during the debates of the Exclusion, but then things of that kind were looked on as artifices to lay the heat of that time, and to render the Church party more popular.

Upon the bishops refusing the oaths, a bill was brought into the House of Commons requiring all persons to take them by a prefixed day, under several forfeitures and penalties. The clergy that took them not were to fall under suspension for six months, and at the end of those they were to be deprived. This was followed with a particular eagerness by some who were known enemies to the Church, and it was then generally believed that a great part of the clergy would refuse the oaths; so they hoped to have an advantage against the Church by this means. Hampden persuaded the King to add a period to a speech he made concerning the affairs of Ireland, in which he proposed the admitting all Protestants to serve in that war. This was understood to be intended for the taking off the sacramental test, which was necessary by law to qualify men for employments, and was looked on as the chief security the Church of England had, as it excluded Dissenters from all employments. And it was tried if a bargain could be made for excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the Dissenters might be excused from the sacrament. The King put this into his speech without communicating it to the ministry, and it had a very ill effect. It was not only rejected by a great majority in both Houses, but it very much heightened the prejudices against the King, as bearing no great affection to the Church of England, when he proposed the opening such a door, which they believed would be fatal to them. The rejecting this made the act imposing the oaths to be driven on with more zeal. This was in debate when I came into the House of Lords; for Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, died this winter. Many spoke to the King in my favour without my knowledge. The King made them no answer; but a few days after he was set on the throne, he of his own motion named me to that see; and he did it in terms more obliging than usually fell from him. When I waited on the Queen, she said she hoped I would now put in practice those notions with which I had taken the liberty often to entertain her. All the forms of the *congé d'élire* and my election were carried on with dispatch. But a great difficulty was in view. Sancroft would not see me, and he refused to consecrate me; so, by law, when the mandate was brought to him, upon not obeying it, he must have been sued in a præmunire; and for some days he seemed determined to venture that; but, as the danger came near, he prevented it by granting a commission to all the bishops of his province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise his metropolitical authority during pleasure. Thus he did authorise others to consecrate me, while yet he seemed to think it an unlawful act. This was so mean that he himself was ashamed of it afterwards; but he took an odd way to overthrow it, for he sent for his original warrant, and so took it out of the office and got it into his own hands.

I happened to come into the House of Lords when two great debates were managed with much heat in it. The one was about the toleration and comprehension, and the other was about the imposing the oaths on the clergy. And I was engaged, at my first coming there, to bear a large share in both.

That which was long insisted on in the House of Lords was, that instead of the clause positively enacting that the clergy should be obliged to take the oaths, the King might be empowered to tender them, and then the refusal was to be punished according to the clause as it stood in the act. It was thought such a power would oblige them to their good behaviour, and be an effectual restraint upon them; they would be kept quiet at least by it; whereas, if they came under deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, that would make them desperate, and set them on to undermine the Government. It was said that the clergy, by the offices of the Church, did solemnly own their allegiance to God in the sight of all their people; that no oath could lay deeper engagements on them than those acts of religious worship did; and if they should either pass over those offices, or perform them otherwise than as the law required, there was a clear method, pursuant to the Act of Uniformity, to proceed severely against them. It was also said that, in many different changes of government, oaths had not proved so effectual a security as was imagined; distinctions were found out, and senses were put on words by which they were interpreted so as to signify but little when a government came to need strength from them; and it ill became those who had formerly complained of those impositions to urge this with so much vehemence. On the other hand, it was urged that no man ought to be trusted by a government, chiefly in so sacred a concern, who would not give security to it, especially since the oath was brought to such low and general terms. The expedient that was proposed would put a hardship upon the King, which was always to be carefully avoided. The day prefixed was at the distance of some months, so that men had time sufficient given them to study the point; and if in that time they could not satisfy themselves as to the lawfulness of acknowledging the Government, it was not fit that they should continue in the highest posts in the Church. An exception of twelve was proposed, who should be subject to the law upon refusing the oaths when required to it by the King; but that was rejected, and all the mitigation that was obtained was a power to the King to reserve a third part of the profits of any twelve benefices he should name to the incumbents who should be deprived by virtue of this act, and so it passed. I was the chief manager of the debate in favour of the clergy, both in the House of Lords and at the conferences with the Commons; but seeing it could not be carried, I acquiesced the more easily, because, though at the beginning of these debates I was assured that those who seemed resolved not to take the oaths, yet prayed for the King in their chapels, yet I found afterwards this was not true, for they named no king nor queen, and so it was easy to guess whom they meant by such an indefinite designation. I also heard many things that made me conclude they were endeavouring to raise all the opposition to the Government possible.

The Bill of Toleration passed easily. It excused Dissenters from all penalties for their not coming to church, and for going to their separate meetings. There was an exception of Socinians; but a provision was put in it in favour of Quakers; and though the rest were required to take the oaths to the Government, they were excused upon making in lieu thereof a solemn declaration. They were to take out warrants for the houses they met in, and the justices of peace were required to grant them. Some proposed that the act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the Dissenters, that they might demean themselves so as to merit the continuance of it when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected; there was now a universal inclination to pass the act, but it could not be expected that the nation would be in the same good disposition towards them at another time. I showed so much zeal for this act as very much sunk my credit, which had arisen from the approbation I had gained for opposing that which enacted the taking the oaths. As for the Act of Comprehension, some progress was made in it; but a proviso was offered, that, in imitation of the acts passed in King Henry VIII.'s and King Edward VI.'s time, a number of persons, both of the clergy and laity, might be empowered to prepare such a reformation of things relating to the Church as might be offered to King and Parliament, in order to the healing our divisions, and the correcting what might be amiss or defective in our constitution. This was pressed with great earnestness by many of the temporal lords. I at that time did imagine that the clergy would have come into such a design with zeal and unanimity, and I feared this would be looked on by them as taking the matter out of their hands, and for that reason I argued so warmly against this that it was carried by a small majority to let it fall. But I was convinced soon after that I had taken wrong measures, and that the method proposed by these Lords was the only one likely to prove effectual; but this did not so recommend me to the clergy as to balance the censure I came under for moving, in another proviso of that bill, that the subscription, instead of assent and consent, should only be to submit with a promise of conformity. There was a proviso likewise in the bill for dispensing with kneeling at the sacrament, and being baptized with the sign of the cross, to such as, after conference upon those heads, should solemnly protest they were not satisfied as to the lawfulness of them. That concerning kneeling occasioned a vehement debate; for the posture being the chief exception that the Dissenters had, the giving up this was thought to be the opening a way for them to come into employments; yet it was carried in the House of Lords. And I declared myself zealous for it; for, since it was acknowledged that the posture was not essential in itself, and that scruples, how ill grounded soever, were raised upon it, it seemed reasonable to leave the matter as indifferent in its practice as it was in its nature.

Those who had moved for this bill, and afterwards brought it into the House, acted a very disingenuous part; for, while they studied to recommend themselves by this show of moderation, they set on their friends to oppose it, and such as were very sincerely and cordially for it were represented as the enemies of the Church, who intended to subvert it. When the bill was sent down to the House of Commons, it was laid on the table, and, instead of proceeding in it, they made an address to the King for summoning a Convocation of the clergy to attend, according to custom, on the session of Parliament. The party that was now beginning to be formed against the Government pretended great zeal for the Church, and declared their apprehensions that it was in danger, which was imputed by many to the Earl of Nottingham's management. These, as they went heavily into the Toleration, so they were much offended with the Bill of Comprehension, as containing matters relating to the Church in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with.

Nor was this bill supported by those who seemed most favourable to the Dissenters. They set it up for a maxim that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in Church and State, and they thought it was not agreeable to that to suffer so great a body as the Presbyterians to be made more easy or more inclinable to unite to the Church; they also thought that the toleration would be best maintained when great numbers should need it, and be concerned to preserve it; so this good design being zealously opposed and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground.

The clergy began now to show an implacable hatred to the Nonconformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them; but wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the nation by the toleration. It seemed to be suitable both to the spirit of the Christian religion and to the interest of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable that while we were complaining of the cruelty of the Church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves, chiefly while we were engaging in a war in the progress of which we would need the united strength of the whole nation.

This bill gave the King great content. He in his own opinion always thought that conscience was God's province, and that it ought not to be imposed on; and his experience in Holland made him look on toleration as one of the wisest measures of Government. He was much troubled to see so much ill-humour spreading among the clergy, and by their means over a great part of the nation. He was so true to his principle herein that he restrained the heat of some who were proposing severe acts against Papists. He made them apprehend the advantage which that would give the French to alienate all the Papists of Europe from us, who from thence might hope to set on foot a new Catholic League, and make the war a quarrel of religion, which might have very bad effects. Nor could he pretend to protect the Protestants in many places of Germany and in Hungary, unless he could cover the Papists in England from all severities on account of their religion. This was so carefully infused into many, and so well understood by them, that the Papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the statute that enacted it.

While domestic matters were raising great heats at home, we saw the necessity of making vigorous preparations for the war abroad, and in Ireland. The King laid before both Houses the alliances formerly made by the Crown of England with the States and with the Empire, together with the new ones that were now proposed, which made a rupture with France necessary. So, by the advice of both Houses, war was declared against France; and the necessary supplies, both for the quota that the King was to furnish, and for the reduction of Ireland, were provided.

The next care was a revenue for the support of the Government. By a long course and the practice of some ages, the customs had been granted to our kings for life; so the King expected that the like regard should be shown for him; but men's minds were much divided in that matter. Some Whigs who, by a long opposition and jealousy of the Government, had wrought themselves into such Republican principles that they could not easily come off from them, set it up as a maxim not to grant any revenue but from year to year, or at most for a short term of years. This they thought would render the Crown precarious, and oblige our kings to such a popular method of government as should merit the constant renewal of that grant. And they hoped that so uncertain a tenure might more easily bring about an entire change of government. For, by the denying the revenue at any time (except upon intolerable conditions), they thought that might easily be effected, since it would render our kings so feeble that they would not be able to maintain their authority. The Tories, observing this, made great use of it to beget in the King jealousies of his friends, with too much colour, and too great success. They resolved to reconcile themselves to the King by granting it, but at present only to look on till the Whigs, who now carried everything to which they set their full strength, should have refused it.

A bill was prepared concerning the militia, which upon the matter, and in consequence of many clauses in it, took it in a great measure both from the Crown and out of the Lord-Lieutenants, who being generally peers, a bill that lessened their authority so much was not likely to pass in the House of Lords; so it was let lie on the table. By this likewise, which was chiefly promoted by the Whigs, the King came to think that those who had raised him to the throne, intended to repress his prerogative as much as they had exalted his person. He seemed to grow tender and jealous upon these points, the importance of every one of them being much aggravated by the Earl of Nottingham, who had furnished him with a scheme of all the points of the prerogative, and of their dependence one upon another; and he seemed so possessed with this, that many of those who had most of his confidence found a coldness growing upon him, which increased their disgust, and made them apprehend they should again see a reign full of prerogative maxims. One thing the House of Commons granted, which was very acceptable to the King; they gave the States about £600,000 for the charge they had been at in the fleet and the army which they furnished the King with at the Revolution.

There was a bill of great importance sent up by the Commons to the Lords, that was not finished this session; it was a bill declaring the rights and liberties of England, and the succession to the crown, as had been agreed by both Houses of Parliament, to the King and Queen and their issue; and after them, to the Princess Anne and her issue; and after these, to the King and his issue. A clause was inserted, disabling all Papists from succeeding to the crown; to which the Lords added, "or such as should marry Papists." To this I proposed an additional clause, absolving the subjects, in that case, from their allegiance. This was seconded by the Earl of Shrewsbury; and it passed without any opposition or debate, which amazed us all, considering the importance of it. But the King ordered me to propose the naming the Duchess of Hanover and her posterity next in the succession. He signified his pleasure in this also to the ministers; but he ordered me to begin the motion in the House, because I had already set it on foot. And the Duke of Hanover had now other thoughts of the matter, and was separating himself from the interests of France. The Lords agreed to the proposition without any opposition; so it was sent down to the Commons. There were great debates there upon it. Hampden pressed it vehemently; but Wildman and all the Republican party opposed it. Their secret reason seemed to be a design to extinguish monarchy, and therefore to substitute none beyond the three that were named, that so the succession might quickly come to an end. But it not being decent to own this, all that they pretended was, that there being many in the lineal succession, after the three that were named, who were then of the Church of Rome, the leaving to them a possibility to succeed, upon their turning Protestants, might have a good effect on them, and dispose them to hearken to instruction, all which would be defeated by a declaration in favour of the Duchess.

To this it was answered, in a free conference, that for that very reason it was fit to make this declaration, since nothing could bring us into a more certain danger than a pretended conversion of a false convert, who might by such a disguise ascend the throne, and so work our ruin by secret artifices. Both Houses adhered after the free conference, so the bill fell for that time; but it was resolved to take it up at the opening of the next session. And the King thought it was not then convenient to renew the motion of the Duchess of Hanover, of which he ordered me to write her a particular account. It was fit once to have the bill passed that enacted the perpetual exclusion of all Papists; for that, upon the matter, brought the succession to their door. And if any in the line, before her, should pretend to change, as it was not very likely to happen, so it would not be easily believed. So it was resolved to carry this matter no further at this time. The bill passed without any opposition in the beginning of the next session, which I mention here, that I might end this matter all at once.

One accident happened this summer, of a pretty extraordinary character, that deserves to be remembered. A fisherman between Lambeth and Vauxhall, was drawing a net pretty close to the channel, and a great weight was, not without some difficulty, drawn to the shore, which, when taken up, was found to be the Great Seal of England. King James had called for it from the Lord Jeffreys, the night before he went away, as intending to make a secret use of it for pardons or grants. But it seems, when he went away, he thought either that the bulk or weight of it made it inconvenient to be carried off, or that it was to be hereafter of no more use to him; and therefore, that it might not be made use of against him, he threw it into the Thames. The fisherman was well rewarded when he brought the Great Seal to the King; and by his order it was broken.

But now I must look over to the affairs of Ireland, and to King James's motions. Upon his coming to the Court of France, he was received with great shows of tenderness and respect; the French King assuring him that, as they had both the same interests, so he would never give over the war till he had restored him to his throne. The only prospect he now had was to keep up his party in Ireland and Scotland. The messages from Tyrconnel for speedy supplies was very pressing; and his party in Scotland sent one Lindsay over to him to offer him their service, and to ask what assistance they might depend upon. The French ministry was at this time much divided. Louvois had the greatest credit, and was very successful in all his counsels, so that he was most considered; but Seignelay was believed to have more personal favour, and to be more entirely united to Madame de Maintenon. These two were in a high competition for favour, and hated one another. Seignelay had the marine, as the other had the army, for his province; so, King James having the most dependence on the marine, and looking on the secretary for that post as the most powerful favourite, made his chief application to him, which set Louvois to cross and retard everything that was proposed for his service, so that matters for him went on slowly and very defectively. There was another circumstance in King

James's affairs that did him much hurt. Lauzun, whose adventures will be found in the French history, had come over to King James, and offered him his service, and had attended on the Queen when she went over to France. He had obtained a promise of King James that he should have the command of such forces as the King of France would assist him with. Louvois hated Lauzun, nor did the King of France like to employ him; so Louvois sent to King James, desiring him to ask of the King of France, Souvray, a son of his, whom he was breeding to serve in war, to command the French troops. But King James had so engaged himself to Lauzun that he thought that he could not in honour depart from it. And ever after that, we were told, that Louvois studied, by all the ways he could think of, to disparage him, and all the propositions he made; yet he got about five thousand Frenchmen to be sent over with him to Ireland, but no great supplies in money. Promises were sent the Scots of great assistance that should be sent them from Ireland: they were encouraged to make all possible opposition in the Convention; and, as soon as the season of the year would admit of it, they were ordered to gather together in the Highlands, and to keep themselves in safe places there till further orders should be sent them. With these, and with a small supply of money, of about five or six thousand pounds, for buying ammunition and arms, Lindsay was sent back. I had such a character given me of him, that I entertained good thoughts of him; so, upon his return, he came first to me, and pretended he had gone over on private affairs, being deeply engaged in debt for the Earl of Melfort, whose secretary he had been. I understood from him that King James had left Paris to go to Ireland, so I sent him to the Earl of Shrewsbury's office. But there was a secret management with one of the Under Secretaries there for King James; so he was not only dismissed, but got a pass warrant from Dr. Wynne to go to Scotland. I had given the Earl of Shrewsbury such a character of the man, that he did more easily believe him; but he knew nothing of the pass warrant. So my easiness to think well of people was the chief occasion of the mischief that followed on his not being clapped up and more narrowly examined. Upon King James's landing in Ireland, he marched his army from Kinsale to Ulster; and, when it was all together, it consisted of thirty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. It is true the Irish were now as insolent as they were undisciplined; and they began to think they must be masters of all the King's counsels.

A jealousy arose between them and the French; they were soon on very bad terms, and scarcely ever agreed in their advices. All King James's party in the isle of Britain pressed his settling the affairs of Ireland the best he could, and his bringing over the French, and such of the Irish as he could best govern and depend on, and advised him to land in the north of England or in the west of Scotland.

But the first thing that was to be done was to reduce Londonderry. In order to this, two different advices were offered. The one was to march with a great force, and to take it immediately; for the town was not capable of resisting if vigorously attacked. The other was to block it up so that it should be forced in a little time to surrender, and to turn to other more vigorous designs. But whereas either of these advices might have been pursued with advantage, a third advice was offered, but I know not by whom, which was the only bad one that could be proposed; and yet, by a sort of fatality which hung over that King, it was followed by him; and that was to press the town by a slow siege, which, as was given out, would bring the Irish into the methods of war, and would accustom them to fatigue and discipline. And this being resolved on, King James sent a small body before it, which was often changed, and by these he continued the siege above two months, in which the poor inhabitants formed themselves into great order, and came to generous resolutions of enduring the last extremities. They made some sallies, in which the Irish always ran away and left their officers, so that many of their best officers were killed. Those within suffered little but by hunger, which destroyed nearly two-thirds of their number. One convoy, with two regiments and provisions, were sent to their relief; but they looked on the service as desperate, being deceived by Lundy, who was the governor of the place, and had undertaken to betray it to King James; but he, finding them jealous of him, came to the convoy, and persuaded them that nothing could be done, so they came back, and Lundy with them. Yet the poor inhabitants, though thus forsaken, resolved still to hold out, and sent over such an account of the state they were in, that a second and greater convoy was sent, with about five thousand men, commanded by Kirke, who, after he came in sight, made not that haste to relieve them that was necessary, considering the misery they were in. They had a river that came up to their town; but the Irish had laid a boom and chains across it, and had planted batteries for defending it: yet a ship sailing up with wind and tide broke through; and so the town was relieved, and the siege raised in great confusion.

Enniskillen had the same fate: the inhabitants entered into resolutions of suffering anything rather than fall into the hands of the Irish. A considerable force was sent against them; but through their courage, and the cowardice of the Irish, they held out.

All this while an army was preparing in England to be sent over for the reduction of Ireland, commanded by Schomberg, who was made a duke in England, and to whom the Parliament gave £100,000 for the services he had done. The levies were carried on in England with great zeal, and the bodies were quickly full. But, though both officers and soldiers showed much courage and affection to the service, yet they were raw, without experience, and without skill. Schomberg had a quick and happy passage, with about ten thousand men. He landed at Belfast, and brought the forces that lay in Ulster together. His army when strongest was not above fourteen thousand men, and he had not above two thousand horse. He marched on to Dundalk, and there posted himself. King James came to Ardee, within five or six miles of him, being above thrice his number. Schomberg had not the supplies from England that had been promised him—much treachery or ravenousness appeared in many who were employed—and he, finding his numbers so unequal to the Irish, resolved to lie on the defensive. He lay there six weeks in a very rainy season; his men, for want of due care and good management, contracted such diseases that he lost nearly one-half of his army. Some blamed him for not putting things more to hazard; it was said that he measured the Irish by their numbers, and not by their want of sense and courage. Such complaints were sent of this to the King, that he wrote twice to him, pressing him to put somewhat to the venture; but he saw the enemy was well posted and well provided, and he knew that they had several good officers among them. If he had pushed matters, and had met with a misfortune, his whole army, and consequently all Ireland, would have been lost; for he could not have made a regular retreat. The sure game was to preserve his army, and that would save Ulster, and keep matters entire for another year. This was censured by some; but better judges thought the managing this campaign as he did was one of the greatest parts of his life.

Our operations on the sea were not very prosperous. Herbert was sent with a fleet to cut off the communication between France and Ireland. The French had sent over a fleet with a great transport of stores and ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of Bantry Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was against him, so that it was not possible for the greatest part of the fleet to come up and enter into action, and so those who engaged were forced to retire with some disadvantage. But the French did not pursue him. He came back to Portsmouth, in order to refit some of his ships, and went out again, and lay before Brest till the end of summer. But the French fleet did not come out any more all that summer; so that ours lay some months at sea to no purpose. But if we lost few of our seamen in the engagement, we lost a great many by reason of the bad victualling. Some excuse this because it was so late in the year before funds were made for it, while others imputed it to base practices and worse designs. So affairs had everywhere a very melancholy face.

I now turn to give an account of the proceedings in Scotland. A Convention of the States was summoned there in the same manner as in England. Duke Hamilton was chosen President; and a letter being offered to them from King James by Lindsay, they would not receive nor read it, but went on to state their several violations of their constitution and laws made by King James. Upon these it was moved that a judgment should be given, declaring that he had forfeited his right to the crown. Upon this three parties were formed: one was composed of all the bishops and some of the nobility, who opposed these proceedings against the King as contrary to their laws and oaths; others thought that their oaths were only to the King, as having the executive power to support him in that, but that, if he set himself to invade and assume the legislature, he renounced his former authority by subverting that upon which it was founded; so they were for proceeding to a declaratory judgment. A third party was formed of those who agreed with the former in their conclusion, but not in coming to so speedy a determination. They thought it was the interest of Scotland to be brought under the laws of England, and to be united to the Parliament of England, and that this was the most proper time for doing that to the best advantage, since England would be obliged, by the present state of affairs, to receive them upon good terms. They were therefore willing to proceed against King James; but they thought it not reasonable to make too much haste in a new settlement, and were for maintaining the Government in an interregnum till the union should be perfected, or at least put in a probable way. This was specious, and many went into it; but, since it tended to the putting a stop to a full settlement, all who favoured King James joined in it, for by this more time was gained. To this project it was objected that the union of the two kingdoms must be a work of time, since many difficulties would arise in any treaty about it; whereas the present circumstances were critical, and required a speedy decision, and quick provision to be made for their security, since, if they continued in such a neutral state, they would have many enemies and no friends, and the zeal that was now working among them for Presbytery must raise a greater aversion than ordinary in the body that was for the Church of England to any such treaty with them.

While much heat was occasioned by this debate, great numbers came armed from the western counties, on pretence to defend the Convention; for the Duke of Gordon was still in the castle of Edinburgh, and could have done them much harm, though he lay there in a very inoffensive state. He thought the best thing he could do was to preserve that place long for King James, since to provoke the Convention would have drawn a siege and ruin upon him with too much precipitation, while there was not a force in the field ready to come and assist him. So it was said there was no need of such armed companies, and that they were come to overawe and force the Convention.

The Earl of Dundee had been at London, and had fixed a correspondence both with England and France, though he had employed me to carry messages from him to the King, to know what security he might expect if he should go and live in Scotland without owning his government. The King said, if he would live peaceably and at home, he would protect him. To this he answered that, unless he was forced to it, he would live quietly. But he went down with other resolutions, and all the party resolved to submit to his command. Upon his coming to Edinburgh, he pretended he was in danger from those armed multitudes, and so he left the Convention, and went up and down the Highlands, and sent his agents about to bring together what force they could gather. This set on the conclusion of the debates of the Convention.

They passed the judgment of forfeiture on King James, and on the 11th of April, the day in which the King and Queen were crowned with the ordinary solemnities at Westminster, they declared William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland. But with this, as they ordered the coronation oath to be tendered to them, so they drew up a claim of rights, which they pretended were the fundamental and unalterable laws of the kingdom. By one of these it was declared that the Reformation in Scotland having been begun by a parity among the clergy, all prelacy in that Church was a great and insupportable grievance to that kingdom. It was an absurd thing to put this in a claim of rights, for which not only they had no law, but which was contrary to many laws then in being; so that, though they might have offered it as a grievance, there was no colour for pretending it was a national right. But they had a notion among them that every article that should be put in the claim of rights became an unalterable law, and a condition upon which the crown was to be held; whereas grievances were such things as were submitted to the King and Parliament to be redressed, or not, as they should see cause; but the bishops, and those who adhered to them, having left the Convention, the Presbyterians had a majority of voices to carry everything as they pleased, how unreasonable soever. And upon this the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland was made a necessary article of the new settlement.

Soon after the King came to St. James's the Episcopal party there had sent up the Dean of Glasgow, whom they ordered to come to me; and I introduced him to the then Prince. He was sent to know what his intentions were with relation to them. He answered, he would do all he could to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the Presbyterians. But this was in case they concurred in the new settlement of that kingdom; for if they opposed that, and if, by a great majority in Parliament, resolutions should be taken against them, the King could not make a war for them, but yet he would do all that was in his power to maintain such of them as should live peaceably in their functions. This he ordered me likewise to write back, in answer to what some bishops and others had written to me upon that subject. But the Earl of Dundee, when he went down, possessed them with such an opinion of another speedy revolution that would be brought about in favour of King James, that they resolved to adhere firmly to his interests. So they declaring in a body with so much zeal in opposition to the new settlement, it was not possible for the King to preserv that Government there; all those who expressed their zeal f him being equally zealous against that order.

Among those who appeared in this Convention none distinguished himself more than Sir James Montgomery, a gentlema of good parts, but of a most unbridled heat, and of a restles ambition. He bore the greatest share of the whole debate, an promised himself a great post in the new Government. Duk Hamilton presided with great discretion and courage; so tha the bringing the settlement so soon to a calm conclusion wa chiefly owing to him. A petition of grievances, relating to th Lords of the Articles, the judges, the coin, and several othe matters, was also settled; and three Commissioners were sent one of every state, to the King and Queen, with the tender o the crown, with which they were also to tender them the coronation oath and the claim of rights. And when the oath was taken, they were next to offer the petition for the redress of grievances. The three Commissioners were, the Earl of Argyll for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, or, as they call them, for the barons, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs. When the King and Queen took the oaths, the King explained one word in the oath, by which he was bound "to repress heresies," that he did not by this bind himself to persecute any for their conscience. And now he was King of Scotland, as well as of England and Ireland.

The first thing to be done was to form a ministry in Scotland, and a Council, and to send instructions for turning the Convention into a Parliament, in which the Duke of Hamilton was to represent the King as his Commissioner. Before the King had left the Hague, Fagel had so effectually recommended Dalrymple, the father, to him, that he was resolved to rely chiefly on him for advice; and though he had heard great complaints of him, as indeed there was some ground for them, yet, since his son was sent one of the three upon so great a deputation, he concluded from thence that the family was not so much hated as he had been informed, so he continued still to be advised by him. The Episcopal party were afraid of Montgomery's being made Secretary, from whom they expected nothing but extreme severities; so they set themselves to divert that, and the Lord Melville, who had married the Duchess of Monmouth's sister, and had continued from 1660 firm to Presbytery, and had been of late forced to leave the kingdom, was looked on as an easy man, who would have credit enough to restrain the fury of that party. So he was made sole Secretary of State, which proved a very unhappy step; for, as he was by his principles bigoted to Presbytery, and ready to sacrifice everything to their humours, so he proved to be in all respects a narrow-hearted man, who minded his own interest more than either that of the King or of his country. This choice gave a great distaste, and that was followed by a ministry, in the framing of which he had the chief hand, who were weak and passionate men. All offices were split into commissions, that many might have some share; but it rendered them all contemptible. And though Montgomery had a considerable post offered him, yet his missing that which he aimed at struck deep, and began to work in him an aversion to the King, which broke out afterwards into much fury and plotting against him. Nor did Duke Hamilton think that he was considered in the new model of the ministry as he deserved, and might justly have expected.

I now return to the affairs of England during the recess. The clergy generally took the oaths, though with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience. The King was suspected by them by reason of the favour shown to the Dissenters, but chiefly for his abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland, and his consenting to the setting up Presbytery there. This gave some credit to the reports that were with great industry infused into many of them of the King's coldness at best, if not his aversion, to the Church of England. The leading men in both universities, chiefly Oxford, were possessed with this; and it began to have very ill effects over all England. Those who did not carry this so far as to think, as some said they did, that the Church was to be pulled down, yet said a latitudinarian party was likely to prevail and to engross all preferments. These were thought less bigoted to outward ceremonies; so now it was generally spread about that men zealous for the Church would be neglected, and that those who were more indifferent in such matters would be preferred. Many of the latter had managed the controversies with the Church of Rome with so much clearness and with that success, that the Papists, to revenge themselves, and to blast those whom they considered as their most formidable enemies, had cast aspersions on them as Socinians, and as men that denied all mysteries. And now some angry men at Oxford, who apprehended that those divines were likely to be most considered in this reign, took up the same method of calumny and began to treat them as Socinians. The Earl of Clarendon and some of the bishops, who had already incurred the suspension for not taking the oaths to the Government, took much ill-natured pains to spread these slanders. Six bishoprics happened to fall within this year: Salisbury, Chester, Bangor, Worcester, Chichester, and Bristol; so that the King named six bishops within six months. And the persons promoted to these sees were generally men of those principles. The proceedings in Scotland cast a great load on the King; he could not hinder the change of government of that Church without putting all his affairs in great disorder. The Episcopal party went almost universally into King James's interests; so that the Presbyterians were the only party that the King had in that kingdom. The King did indeed assure us, and myself in particular, that he would restrain and moderate the violence of the Presbyterians. Lord Melville did also promise the same thing very solemnly, and at first he seemed much set upon it; but when he saw so great a party formed against himself, and since many of the Presbyterians inclined to favour them, and to set themselves in an opposition to the Court, he thought it was the King's interest, or at least his own, to engage that party entirely, and he found nothing could do that so effectually as to abandon the ministers of the Episcopal persuasion to their fury. He set up the Earl of Crawford as the head of his party, who was passionate in his temper, and was out of measure zealous in his principles; he was chosen to be the President of the Parliament. He received and encouraged all the complaints that were made of the Episcopal ministers. The Convention, when they had passed the votes declaring the King and Queen, ordered a proclamation to be read the next Sunday in all the churches of Edinburgh, and in all the other churches in the kingdom by a certain prefixed day, but which was so near at hand that it was scarcely possible to lay proclamations all round the nation within the time, and it was absolutely impossible for the clergy to meet together, and come to any resolution among themselves. For the most part the proclamations were not brought to the ministers till the morning of the Sunday in which they were ordered to be read; so this having the face of a great change of principles, many could not on the sudden resolve to submit to it. Some had not the proclamations brought to them till the day was past: many of these read it the Sunday following. Some of those who did not think fit to read the proclamation, yet obeyed it, and continued after that to pray for the King and Queen. Complaints were brought to the Council of all those who had not read nor obeyed the proclamations, and they were in a summary way deprived of their benefices. In the executing this, Lord Crawford showed much eagerness and violence. Those who did not read the proclamation on the day appointed had no favour, though they did it afterwards; and upon any word that fell from them, either in their extemporary prayers or sermons, that showed disaffection to the Government, they were also deprived. All these things were published up and down England, and much aggravated, and raised the aversion that the Church had to the Presbyterians so high, that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party that, where they prevailed, showed so much fury against those of the Episcopal persuasion; so that such of us as had laboured to excuse the change that the King was forced to consent to, and had promised in his name great moderation towards our friends in that kingdom, were much out of countenance when we saw the violence with which matters were carried there. These things concurred to give the clergy such ill impressions of the King, that we had little reason to look for success in a design that was then preparing for the Convocation, for which a summons was issued out to meet during the next session of Parliament.

When the Convocation was opened, the King sent them a message by the Earl of Nottingham, assuring them of his constant favour and protection, and desiring them to consider such things, as by his order should be laid before them, with due care and an impartial zeal for the peace and good of the Church. But the Lower House of Convocation expressed a resolution not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations, so that they would take no notice of the second part of the King's message; and it was not without difficulty carried to make a decent address to the King, thanking him for his promise of protection. But because in the draft which the bishops sent them they acknowledged the protection that the Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular, had received from him, the Lower House thought that this imported their owning some common union with the foreign Protestants; so they would not agree to it. There was at this time but a small number of bishops in the

Upper House of Convocation, and they had not their metropolitan with them; so they had not strength nor authority to set things forward. Therefore they advised the King to suffer the session to be discontinued; and thus, seeing they were in no disposition to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years.

I now turn to a more important as well as a more troublesome scene. In winter a session of Parliament met full of jealousy and ill-humour. The ill conduct of affairs was imputed chiefly to the Lord Halifax; so the first attack was made on him. The Duke of Bolton made a motion in the House of Lords for a Committee to examine who had the chief hand in the severities and executions in the end of King Charles's reign, and in the *quo warrantos*, and the delivering up the charters. The inquiry lasted some weeks, and gave occasion to much heat, but nothing appeared that could be proved, upon which votes or addresses could have been grounded; yet the Lord Halifax having during that time concurred with the ministry in Council, he saw it was necessary for him to withdraw now from the ministers, and quit the Court; and soon after he reconciled himself to the Tories, and became wholly theirs; he opposed everything that looked favourably towards the Government, and did upon all occasions serve the Jacobites and protect the whole party. But the Whigs began to lose much of the King's good opinion by the heat that they showed in both Houses against their enemies, and by the coldness that appeared in everything that related to the public, as well as to the King in his own particular. He expressed an earnest desire to have the revenue of the Crown settled on him for life. He said he was not a king till that was done; without that the title of a king was only a pageant. And he spoke of this with more than ordinary vehemence; so that sometimes he said he would not stay and hold an empty name unless that was done. He said once to myself he understood the good of a commonwealth, as well as of a kingly government, and it was not easy to determine which was best; but he was sure the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure and without power. But a jealousy was now infused into many that he would grow arbitrary in his government if he once had the revenue, and would strain for a high stretch of prerogative as soon as he was out of difficulties and necessities.

The Tories, seeing the Whigs grow sullen, and that they would make no advances of money, began to treat with the Court, and promised great advances if the Parliament might be dissolved and a new one be summoned. Those propositions came to be known; so the House of Commons prepared a bill, by which they hoped to have made sure of all future Parliaments. In it they declared that corporations could not be forfeited, nor their charters surrendered; and they enacted that all mayors and recorders who had been concerned in the private delivering up of charters without the consent of the whole body, and who had done that in a clandestine manner before the judgment that was given against the charter of London, should be turned out of all corporations, and be incapable of bearing office in them for six years. This was opposed in the House of Commons by the whole strength of the Tory party; for they saw the carrying it was the total ruin of their interest through the whole kingdom. They said a great deal against the declaratory part; but whatsoever might be in that, they said, since the thing had been so universal, it seemed hard to punish it with such severity. It was said that by this means the party for the Church would be disgraced, and that the corporations would be cast into the hands of Dissenters. And now both parties made their court to the King. The Whigs promised everything that he desired if he would help them to get this bill passed; and the Tories were not wanting in their promises, if the bill should be stopped and the Parliament dissolved. The bill was carried in the House of Commons by a great majority. When it was brought up to the Lords, the first point in debate was upon the declaratory part, whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered? Holt and two other judges were for the affirmative, but all the rest were for the negative. No precedents for the affirmative were brought higher than the reign of King Henry VIII., in which the abbeys were surrendered, which was at that time so great a point of state that the authority of these precedents seemed not clear enough for regular times. The House was so equally divided that it went for the bill only by one voice, after which little doubt was made of the passing the act. But now the applications of the Tories were much quickened; they made the King all possible promises, and the promoters of the bill saw themselves exposed to the corporations, which were to feel the effects of this bill so sensibly, that they made as great promises on their part. The matter was now at a critical issue: the passing the bill put the King and the nation in the hands of the Whigs, as the rejecting it, and dissolving the Parliament upon it, was such a trusting to the Tories, and such a breaking with the Whigs, that the King was long in suspense what to do.

He was once very near a desperate resolution. He thought he could not trust the Tories, and he resolved he would not trust the Whigs; so he fancied the Tories would be true to the Queen, and confide in her, though they would not in him. He therefore resolved to go over to Holland, and leave the Government in the Queen's hands; so he called the Marquis of Carmarthen, with the Earl of Shrewsbury and some few more, and told them he had a convoy ready, and was resolved to leave all in the Queen's hands, since he did not see how he could extricate himself out of the difficulties into which the animosities of parties had brought him. They pressed him vehemently to lay aside all such desperate resolutions, and to comply with the present necessity. Much passion appeared among them; the debate was so warm, that many tears were shed. In conclusion, the King resolved to change his first design into another better resolution of going over in person to put an end to the war in Ireland. This was told me some time after by the Earl of Shrewsbury; but the Queen knew nothing of it till she had it from me, so reserved was the King to her, even in a matter that concerned her so nearly.

The King was making all possible haste to open the campaign as soon as things could be ready for it in Ireland. The day before he set out he called me into his closet. He seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits from the state of his affairs, which was then very cloudy. He said, for his own part, he trusted in God, and would either go through with his business or perish in it. He only pitied the poor Queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness, and wished that those who loved him would wait much on her, and assist her. He lamented much the factions and the heats that were among us, and that the bishops and clergy, instead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them; but he was pleased to make an exception of myself. He said the going to a campaign was naturally no unpleasant thing to him; he was sure he understood that better than how to govern England. He added that though he had no doubt nor mistrust of the cause he went on, yet the going against King James in person was hard upon him, since it would be a vast trouble, both to himself and to the Queen, if he should be either killed or taken prisoner. He desired my prayers, and dismissed me very deeply affected with all he had said.

I had a particular occasion to know how tender he was of King James's person, having learned an instance of it from the first hand. A proposition was made to the King that a third-rate ship, well manned by a faithful crew, and commanded by one who had been well with King James, but was such a one as the King might trust, should sail to Dublin, and declare for King James. The person who told me this offered to be the man that should carry the message to King James (for he was well known to him), to invite him to come on board, which he seemed to be sure he would accept of; and when he was aboard they should sail away with him, and land him either in Spain or Italy, as the King should desire, and should have twenty thousand pounds to give him when he should be set ashore. The King thought it was a well-formed design, and likely enough to succeed, but would not hearken to it. He said he would have no hand in treachery, and King James would certainly carry some of his guards and of his Court abroad with him, and probably they would make some opposition, and in the struggle some accident might happen to King James's person, in which he would have no hand. I acquainted the Queen with this, and I saw in her a great tenderness for her father's person, and she was much touched with the answer the King had made.

He had a quick passage to Ireland, where matters had been kept in the state they were in all the winter. Charlemont was reduced, which was the only place in Ulster that was then left in King James's hands. The King had a great army; there were about thirty-six thousand men, all in good plight, full of heart and zeal. He lost no time, but advanced in six days from Belfast, where he landed, to the river Boyne, near Drogheda. King James had abandoned the passes between Newry and Dundalk, which are so strait for some miles, that it had been easy to have disputed every inch of ground. King James and his Court were so much lifted up with the news of the debates in Parliament, and of the distractions of the city of London, that they flattered themselves with false hopes that the King durst not leave England, nor venture over to Ireland. He had been six days come before King James knew anything of it. Upon that, he immediately passed the Boyne, and lay on the south side of it. His army consisted of twenty-six thousand men, his horse were good, and he had five thousand French foot, for whom he had sent over in exchange five thousand Irish foot. He held some councils of war to consider what was fit to be done—whether he should make a stand there, and put all to the decision of a battle, or if he should march off and abandon that river, and, by consequence, all the country on to Dublin.

Our concerns at sea were then the chief thing to be looked to. An unhappy compliment of sending a fleet to convoy a queen to Spain proved almost fatal to us. They were so long delayed by contrary winds, that a design of blocking up Toulon was lost by it. The great ships that lay there had got out before our fleet could reach the place. Our squadron returned back, and went into Plymouth to refit there, and it was joined by that which came from the Irish seas. These two squadrons consisted of about thirty ships of the line. The Earl of Torrington, who had the chief command, was a man of pleasure, and did not make the haste that was necessary to go about and join them; nor did the Dutch fleet come over so soon as was promised, so that our main fleet lay long at Spithead. The French understood that our fleets lay thus divided, and saw the advantage of getting between them; so they came in the Channel with so fair a wind, that they were near the Isle of Wight before our fleet had any advice of their being within the Channel. The Earl of Torrington had no advice-boats out to bring him news; and though notice thereof was sent post overland as soon as the French came within the Channel, yet their fleet sailed as fast as the post could ride; but then the wind turned upon them, otherwise they would in all probability have surprised us. But after this first advantage the winds were always contrary to them, and favourable to us; so that the French officers in Ireland had reason to look for that fleet of smaller vessels which was promised to be sent to destroy the King's transport ships, and for these reasons all King James's officers were against bringing the war to so speedy a decision.

In opposition to all their opinions, King James himself was positive that they must stay and defend the Boyne. If they marched off and abandoned Dublin, they would so lose their reputation that the people would leave them and capitulate. It would also dispirit all their friends in England; therefore he resolved to maintain the post he was in, and seemed not a little pleased to think that he should have one fair battle for his crown. He spoke of this with so much seeming pleasure, that many about him apprehended that he was weary of the struggle, and even of life, and longed to see an end of it at any rate, and they were afraid that he would play the hero a little too much. He had all the advantages he could desire—the river was deep, and rose very high with the tide, there was a morass to be passed after the passing the river, and then a rising ground.

On the last of June the King came to the banks of the river, and as he was riding along, and making a long stop in one place to observe the grounds, the enemy did not lose their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of cannon, and, with the first firing, a ball passed along the King's shoulder, tore off some of his clothes and about a hand-breadth of the skin, out of which about a spoonful of blood came, and that was all the harm it did him. It cannot be imagined how much terror this struck into all that were about him. He himself said it was nothing; yet he was prevailed on to alight till it was washed and a plaster put upon it, and immediately he mounted his horse again, and rode about all the posts of his army. It was indeed necessary to show himself everywhere, to take off the apprehensions with which such an unusual accident filled his soldiers. He continued that day nineteen hours on horseback; but, upon his first alighting from his horse, a deserter had gone over to the enemy with the news, which was carried quickly into France, where it was taken for granted that he could not outlive such a wound; so it ran over that kingdom that he was dead. And upon it there were more public rejoicings than had been usual upon their greatest victories, which gave that Court afterwards a vast confusion when they knew that he was still alive, and saw that they had raised in their own people a high opinion of him by this inhuman joy, when they believed him dead.

But to return to the action of the Boyne. The King sent a great body of cavalry to pass the river higher, while he resolved to pass it in the face of the enemy; and the Duke of Schomberg was to pass it in a third place, a little below him. I will not enter into the particulars of that day's action, but leave them to military men.

It was a complete victory; and those who were the least disposed to flattery said it was almost wholly due to the King's courage and conduct, and, though he was a little stiff by reason of his wound, yet he was forced to quit his horse in the morass, and to go through it on foot, but he came up in time to ride almost into every body of his army. He charged in many different places, and nothing stood before him. The Irish horse made some resistance; but the foot threw down their arms, and ran away. The most amazing circumstance was, that King James stayed all the while with the Guards at a safe distance, and never came into the places of danger nor of action, and, when he saw his army was everywhere giving ground, was the first that ran for it, and reached Dublin before the action was quite over; for it was dark before the King forsook the pursuit of the Irish. His horse and dragoons were so weary with the fatigue of a long action in a hot day, that they could not pursue far, nor was their camp furnished with necessary refreshments till next morning; for the King had marched faster than the waggons could possibly follow. The army of the Irish were so entirely forsaken by their officers, that the King thought they would have dispersed themselves, and submitted, and that the following them would have been a mere butchery, which was a thing he had always abhorred. The only alloy to this victory was the loss of the Duke of Schomberg. He passed the river in his station, and was driving the Irish before him, when a party of desperate men set upon him as he was riding very carelessly, with a small number about him. They charged, and in the disorder of that action he was shot; but it could not be known by whom, for most of all the party were cut off. Thus that great man, like another Epaminondas, fell on the day in which his side triumphed.

King James came to Dublin under a very indecent consternation. He said all was lost; he had an army in England that could have fought, but would not, and now he had an army that would have fought, but could not. This was not very gracefully nor decently spoken by him, who was among the first that fled. Next morning he left Dublin. He said too much blood had been already shed; it seemed God was with their enemies. The Prince of Orange was a merciful man; so he ordered those he left behind him to set the prisoners at liberty, and to submit to the Prince. He rode that day from Dublin to Duncannon Fort; but, though the place was considerably strong, he would not trust to that, but lay aboard a French ship that anchored there, and had been provided by his own special directions to Sir Patrick Trant. His courage sank with his affairs to a degree that amazed those who had known the former parts of his life. The Irish army was forsaken by their officers for two days. If there had been a hot pursuit it would have put an end to the war of Ireland; but the King thought his first care ought to be to secure Dublin; and King James's officers, as they abandoned it, went back to the army, only in hopes of a good capitulation. Dublin was thus forsaken, and no harm done, which was much apprehended; but the fear the Irish were in was such, that they durst not venture on anything which must have drawn severe revenges after it. So the Protestants there being now the masters, they declared for the King. Drogheda did also capitulate.

But, to balance this great success, the King had, the very day after the battle at the Boyne, the news of a battle fought in Flanders, between Prince Waldeck and the Marshal Luxemburg, in which the former was defeated.

On the day before the battle of the Boyne the two fleets came to a great engagement at sea. The squadron that lay at Plymouth could not come up to join the great fleet, the wind being contrary; so it was under debate what was fittest to be done. The Earl of Torrington thought he was not strong enough, and advised his coming in till some more ships that were fitting out should be ready. Some began to call his courage in question, and imputed this to fear. They thought this would too much exalt our enemies, and discourage our allies, if we left the French to triumph at sea, and to be the masters of our coast and trade, for our merchants' richest ships were coming home; so that the leaving them in such a superiority would be both very unbecoming and very mischievous to us. The Queen ordered Russell to advise both with the Navy Board and with all who understood sea affairs; and, upon a view of the strength of both fleets, they were of opinion that though the French were superior in number, yet our fleet was so equal in strength to them, that it was reasonable to send orders to our admiral to venture on an engagement; yet the orders were not so positive but that a great deal was left to a council of war. The two fleets engaged near Beachy, in Sussex. The Dutch led the van, and, to show their courage, they advanced too far out of the line, and fought in the beginning with some advantage, the French flying before them. And our blue squadron engaged bravely; but the Earl of Torrington kept in his line, and continued to fight at a distance. The French, seeing the Dutch come out so far before the line, fell on them furiously, both in front and flank, which the Earl of

Torrington neglected for some time; and when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was such that he could not come up. The Dutch suffered much, and their whole fleet had perished if their admiral, Calembourg, had not ordered them to drop their anchors while their sails were up. This was not observed by the French; so they were carried by the tide, while the others lay still, and thus in a few minutes the Dutch were out of danger. They lost many men, and sank some of their ships which had suffered the most, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands. It was now necessary to order the fleet to come in with all possible haste. Both the Dutch and the blue squadron complained much of the Earl of Torrington, and it was a general opinion that if the whole fleet had come up to a close fight, we must have beaten the French; and considering how far they were from Brest, and that our squadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a victory might have had great consequences. Our fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into factions; and if the French had not lost the night's tide, but had followed us close, they might have destroyed many of our ships. Both the admirals were almost equally blamed; ours for not fighting, and the French for not pursuing his victory.

Our fleet came in safe, and all possible diligence was used in refitting it; the Earl of Torrington was sent to the Tower, and three of our best sea officers had the joint command of the fleet; but it was a month before they could set out, and in all that time the French were masters of the sea, and our coasts were open to them.

Whilst the misfortunes in Flanders and at sea were putting us in no small agitation, the news first of the King's preservation from the cannon-ball, and then of the victory gained the day after, put another face on our affairs. The Earl of Nottingham told me that when he carried the news to the Queen, and acquainted her in a few words that the King was well, that he had gained an entire victory, and that the late King had escaped, he observed her looks, and found that the last article made her joy complete, which seemed in some suspense till she understood that. The Queen and Council upon this sent to the King, pressing him to come over with all possible haste, since, as England was of more importance, so the state of affairs required his presence here; for it was hoped the reduction of Ireland would be now easily brought about. The King, as he received the news of the battle of Fleurus the day after the victory at the Boyne, so on the day in which he entered Dublin he had the news of the misfortune at sea to temper the joy that his own successes might give him. He had taken all the Earl of Tyrconnel's papers in the camp, and he found all King James's papers left behind him in Dublin. By these he understood the design the French had of burning his transport fleet, which was therefore first to be taken care of; and, since the French were now masters at sea, he saw nothing that could hinder the execution of that design.

The King was pressed to pursue the Irish, who had retired to Athlone and Limerick, and were now joined by their officers, and so brought again into some order; but the main concern was to put the transport fleet in a safe station; and that could not be had till the King was master of Waterford and Duncannon Fort, which commanded the entrance into the river. Both these places capitulated, and the transports were brought thither. But they were not now so much in danger as the King had reason to apprehend; for King James, when he sailed away from Duncannon, was forced by contrary winds to go into the road of Kinsale, where he found some French frigates that were already come to burn our fleet. He told them it was now too late—all was lost in Ireland. So he carried them back to convoy him over to France, where he had but a cold reception; for the miscarriage of affairs in Ireland was imputed both to his ill conduct and his want of courage. He fell under much contempt of the people of France; only that King continued still to behave himself decently towards him.

The King sent his army towards the Shannon, and he himself came to Dublin, intending, as he was advised, to go over to England; but he found there letters of another strain. Things were in so good a posture, and so quiet in England, that they were no more in any apprehension of a descent; so the King went back to his army, and marched towards Limerick. Upon this Lauzun, who commanded the French, left the town, and sent his equipage to France, which perished in the Shannon. It was hoped that Limerick, seeing itself thus abandoned, would have followed the example of other towns, and have capitulated. Upon that confidence the King marched towards it, though his army was now much diminished. He had left many garrisons in several places, and had sent some of his best bodies over to England, so that he had not now above twenty thousand men altogether. Limerick lies on both sides of the Shannon, and on an island that the river makes there. The Irish were yet in great numbers in Connaught; so that, unless they had been shut up on that side, it was easy to send in a constant supply both of men and provisions. Nor did it seem advisable to undertake the siege of a place so situated with so small an army, especially in that season, in which it used to rain long, and by that means both the Shannon would swell, and the ground, which was the best soil of Ireland, would be apt to become deep, and scarce practicable for carriages. Yet the cowardice of the Irish, the consternation they were in, and their being abandoned by the French, made the King resolve to sit down before it. Their outworks might have been defended for some time; but they abandoned these in so much disorder, that it was from hence believed they would not hold out long. They also abandoned the posts which they had on the other side of the Shannon, upon which the King passed the river, which was then very low, and viewed these posts; but he had not men to maintain them, so he continued to press the town on the Munster side.

He sent for some more ammunition and some great guns. They had only a guard of two troops of horse to convoy them, who despised the Irish so much, and thought they were at such distance, that they set their horses to grass, and went to bed. Sarsfield, one of the best officers of the Irish, heard that the King rode about very carelessly, and upon that had got a small body of resolute men together, on design to seize his person; but now, hearing of this convoy, he resolved to cut it off. The King had advertisement of this brought him in time, and ordered some more troops to be sent to secure the convoy. They, either through treachery or carelessness, did not march till it was night, though their orders were for the morning; but they came a few hours too late. Sarsfield surprised the party, destroyed the ammunition, broke the carriages, and burst one of the guns, and so marched off. Lanier, whom the King had sent with the party, might have overtaken him; but the general observation made of him (and of most of those officers who had served King James, and were now on the King's side) was, that they had a greater mind to make themselves rich by the continuance of the war of Ireland, than their master great and safe by the speedy conclusion of it.

By this the King lost a week, and his ammunition was low; for a great supply that was put on shipboard in the river

Thames before the King left London still remained there, the French being masters of the Channel. Yet the King pressed the town so hard, that the trenches were run up to the counterscarp, and when they came to lodge there, the Irish ran back so fast at a breach that the cannon had made, that a body of the King's men ran in after them, and if they had been seconded, the town had been immediately taken. But none came in time, so they retired; and though the King sent another body, yet they were beaten back with loss. As it now began to rain, the King saw that if he stayed longer there, he must leave his great artillery behind him. He went into the trenches every day, and it was thought he exposed himself too much. His tent was pitched within the reach of their cannon. They shot often over it, and beat down a tent very near it; so he was prevailed on to let it be removed to a greater distance. Once, upon receiving a packet from England, he sat down in the open field for some hours, reading his letters, while the cannon-balls were flying round about him. The Irish fired well, and showed they had some courage when they were behind walls, how little soever they had shown in the field.

The King lay three weeks before Limerick; but at last the rains forced him to raise the siege. They within did not offer to sally out and disorder the retreat. This last action, proving unlucky, had much damped the joy that was raised by the first success of this campaign. The King expressed a great equality of temper upon the various accidents that happened at this time. Dr. Hutton, his first physician, who took care to be always near him, told me he had observed his behaviour very narrowly upon two very different occasions.

The one was, after the return from the victory at the Boyne, when it was almost midnight, after he had been seventeen hours in constant fatigue, with all the stiffness that his wound gave him, he expressed neither joy nor any sort of vanity; only he looked cheerful; and when those about him made such compliments as will be always made to princes, even though they do not deserve them, he put all that by with such an unaffected neglect, that it appeared how much soever he might deserve the acknowledgments that were made him, yet he did not like them. And this was so visible to all about him, that they soon saw that the way to make their court was neither to talk of his wound, nor of his behaviour on that day. As soon as he saw his physician, he ordered him to see that care should be taken of the wounded men, and he named the prisoners as well as his own soldiers. And though he had great reason to be offended with Hamilton, who had been employed to treat with the Earl of Tyrconnel, and was taken prisoner in his sight, and was preserved by his order, yet, since he saw he was wounded, he gave particular directions to look after him. Upon the whole matter the King was as grave and silent as he used to be, and the joy of a day that had been both so happy and so glorious to him did not seem to alter his temper or deportment in any way.

He told me he was also near him when it was resolved to raise the siege of Limerick, and saw the same calm, without the least depression, disorder, or peevishness. From this he concluded that either his mind was so happily balanced, that no accident could put it out of that situation; or that, if he had commotions within, he had a very extraordinary command over his temper, in restraining or concealing them.

While he lay before Limerick he had news from England that our fleet was now out, and that the French were gone to Brest; so, since we were masters of the sea, the Earl of Marlborough proposed that five thousand men who had lain idle all this summer in England should be sent to Ireland, and, with the assistance of such men as the King should order to join them, they should try to take Cork and Kinsale. The King approved of this, and ordered the Earl to come over with them, and he left orders for about five thousand more who were to join him. And so he broke up this campaign, and came over to Bristol, and from thence to London. The contrary winds stopped the Earl of Marlborough so, that it was October before he got to Ireland. He soon took Cork by storm, and four thousand men that lay there in garrison were made prisoners of war. In this action the Duke of Grafton received a shot, of which he died in a few days. He was the more lamented as being the person of all King Charles's children of whom there was the greatest hope; he was brave, and probably would have become a great man at sea. From Cork the Earl of Marlborough marched to Kinsale, where he found the two forts that commanded the port to be so much stronger than the plans represented them to be, that he told me, if he had known their true strength, he had never undertaken the expedition in a season so far advanced; yet in a few days the place capitulated. The Irish drew their forces together, but durst not venture on raising the siege; but, to divert it, they set the country about, which was the best built of any in Ireland, all in a flame.

Thus those two important places were reduced in a very bad season, and with very little loss, which cut off the quick communications between France and Ireland. Count Lauzun, with the French troops, lay all this while about Galway, without attempting anything. He sent over to France an account of the desperate state of their affairs, and desired ships might be sent for the transport of their forces. That was done; yet the ships came not till the siege of Limerick was raised. Probably, if the Court of France knew how much the state of affairs was altered, they would have sent contrary orders; but Lauzun was weary of the service, and was glad to get out of it; so he sailed away, without staying for new orders, by which he lost the little reputation that he was beginning to recover at the Court of France. The Earl of Tyrconnel went over with him, and gave full assurances that though the Irish were likely to suffer great hardships next winter, yet they would stand it out, if they were still supported from France. It had appeared on many occasions that the French and the Irish soldiers did not agree well together; therefore, he proposed that no more soldiers, but only a number of good officers, together with arms, ammunition, and clothes, might be sent over to them. In the meanwhile the Irish formed themselves into many bodies, which, by a new name, were called Rapparees. These, knowing all the ways, and the bogs, and other places of retreat in Ireland, and being favoured by the Irish that had submitted to the King, robbed and burned houses in many places of the country; while the King's army studied their own ease in their quarters more than the protection of the inhabitants. Many of them were suspected of robbing in their turn, though the Rapparees carried the blame of all. Between them, the poor inhabitants had a sad time, and their stock of cattle and corn was almost entirely destroyed in many places.

The House of Commons passed a vote to raise a million of money out of the forfeitures and confiscations in Ireland; and in order to that, they passed a bill of attainder of all those who had been engaged in the rebellion of Ireland, and appropriated the confiscations to the raising a fund for defraying the expense of the present war; only they left a power to the King to grant away a third part of those confiscated estates to such as had served in the war, and to give such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms as he should think fit. Upon this bill many petitions were offered, the creditors of some, and the heirs of others, who had continued faithful to the Government, desired provisos for their security. The Commons, seeing that there was no end of petitions for such provisos, rejected them all, imitating in this too much the mock parliament that King James held in Dublin, in which about three thousand persons were attainted without proof or process, only because some of them were gone over to England, and others were absconding, or informed against in Ireland. But when this bill was brought up to the Lords, they thought they were in justice bound to hear all petitions. Upon this the bill was likely to be clogged with many provisos, and the matter must have held long; so the King, to stop this, sent a message to the Commons; and he spoke to the same purpose afterwards, from the throne, to both Houses. He promised he would give no grants of any confiscated estates, but would keep that matter entire, to the consideration of another session of Parliament, by which the King intended only to assure them that he would give none of those estates to his courtiers or officers; but he thought he was still at liberty to pass such acts of grace, or grant such articles to the Irish, as the state of his affairs should require.

There were no important debates in the House of Lords. The Earl of Torrington's business held them long; the form of his commitment was judged to be illegal; and the martial law, to which, by the statute, all who served in the fleet were subject, being lodged in the Lord High Admiral, it was doubted whether, the Admiralty being now in commission, that power was lodged with the Commissioners. The judges were of opinion that it was; yet, since the power of life and death was too sacred a thing to pass only by a construction of law, it was thought the safest course to pass an act declaring that the powers of a Lord High Admiral did vest in the Commissioners. The secret enemies of the Government, who intended to embroil matters, moved that the Earl of Torrington should be impeached in Parliament. Proceedings in that way being always slow, incidents were also apt to fall in that might create disputes between the two Houses, which did sometimes end in a rupture; but the King was apprehensive of that, and though he was much incensed against that lord, and had reason to believe that a council of war would treat him very favourably, yet he chose rather to let it go so than to disorder his affairs. The Commissioners of the Admiralty named a court to try him, who did it with so gross a partiality, that it reflected much on the justice of the nation; so that, if it had not been for the great interest the King had in the States, it might have occasioned a breach of the alliance between them and us. He came off safe as to his person and estate, but much loaded in his reputation; some charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty sullenness of temper that made him, since orders were sent him contrary to the advices he had given, to resolve indeed to obey them, and fight; but in such a manner as should cast the blame on those who had sent him the orders, and give them cause to repent of it.

The King had suffered the deprived bishops to continue now above a year at their sees; they all the while neglected the concerns of the Church, doing nothing, but living privately in their palaces. I had, by the Queen's order, moved both the Earl of Rochester and Sir John Trevor, who had great credit with them, to try whether, in case an act could be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, they would go on, and do their functions in ordinations, institutions, and confirmations, and assist at the public worship, as formerly; but they would give no answer; only they said they would live quietly, that is, keep themselves close, till a proper time should encourage them to act more openly. So all the thoughts of this kind were upon that laid aside. One of the most considerable men of the party, Dr. Sherlock, upon King James's going out to Ireland, thought that this gave the present Government a thorough settlement; and in that case he thought it lawful to take the oaths, and upon that not only took them himself, but publicly justified what he had done, upon which he was most severely libelled by those from whom he withdrew. The discovery of the Bishop of Ely's correspondence and engagement in the name of the rest gave the King a great advantage in filling those vacant sees, which he resolved to do upon his return from Congress, to which he went over in January.

In his way he ran a very great hazard. When he got within the Maese, so that it was thought two hours' rowing would bring him to land, being weary of the sea, he went into an open boat with some of his lords, but by mists and storms he was tossed up and down above sixteen hours before he got safe to land. Yet neither he nor any of those who were with him were the worse for all this cold and wet weather. And when the seamen seemed very apprehensive of their danger, the king said in a very intrepid manner, "What! are you afraid to die in my company?"

To return to the Low Countries: the King of France resolved to break off the conferences at the Hague, by giving the alarm of an early campaign; Mons was besieged; and the King came before it in person. It was thereupon given up as a lost place; for the French ministers had laid that down among their chief maxims, that their King was never to undertake anything in his own person but where he was sure of success. The King broke up the Congress, and drew a great army very soon together; and if the town had held out so long, as they might well have done, or if the Governor of Flanders had performed what he undertook, of furnishing carriages to the army, the King would either have raised the siege, or forced the French to a battle. But some priests had been gained by the French, who laboured so effectually among the townsmen, who were almost as strong as the garrison, that they at last forced the Governor to capitulate. Upon that, both armies went into quarters of refreshment, and the King came over again to England for a few weeks.

He gave all necessary orders for the campaign in Ireland, in which Ginkell had the chief command. Russell had the command of the fleet, which was soon ready, and well manned. The Dutch squadron came over in good time. The proportion of the quota settled between England and the States was, that we were to furnish five, and they three ships of equal rates and strength.

The next thing the King did was to fill the sees vacant by deprivation. He judged right that it was of great consequence, both to his service and to the interests of religion, to have Canterbury well filled; for the rest would turn upon that. By the choice he was to make, all the nation would see whether he intended to go on with his first design of moderating matters and healing our breaches, or if he would go into the passions and humours of a high party, that seemed to court him as abjectly as they inwardly hated him. Dr. Tillotson had been now well known to him for two years; his soft and prudent counsels, and his zeal for his service, had begotten, both in the King and Queen, a high and just opinion of him. They had both, for above a year, pressed him to come into this post, and he had struggled against it with great earnestness: as he had no ambition nor aspiring in his temper, so he foresaw what a scene of trouble and slander he must enter on, now in the decline of his age. The prejudices that the Jacobites would possess all people with, for his coming into the room of one whom they call a confessor, and who began now to have the public compassion on his side, were well foreseen by him. He also apprehended the continuance of that heat and aversion that a violent party had always expressed towards him, though he had not only avoided to provoke any of them, but had upon all occasions done the chief of them great services as often as it was in his power. He had large principles, and was free from superstition; his zeal had been chiefly against atheism and Popery; but he had never showed much sharpness against Dissenters. He had lived in a good correspondence with many of them; he had brought several over to the Church by the force of reason, and the softness of persuasion and good usage; but was a declared enemy to violence and severities on those heads. Among other prejudices against him, one related to myself: he and I had lived, for many years, in a close and strict friendship; he laid before the King all the ill effects that, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his own service; but all this had served only to increase the King's esteem of him, and fix him in his purpose.

The Bishop of Ely's letters to St. Germain gave so fair an occasion of filling those sees at this time, that the King resolved to lay hold on it; and Tillotson, with great uneasiness to himself, submitted to the King's command; and soon after, the see of York falling void, Dr. Sharp was promoted to it: so those two sees were filled with the best two preachers that had sat in them in our time, only Sharp did not know the world so well, and was not so steady as Tillotson was. Dr. Patrick was advanced to Ely, Dr. Moore was made Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester, Ironside was promoted to Hereford, Grove to Chichester, and Hall to Bristol; as Hough, the President of Magdalen's, was the year before this made Bishop of Oxford. So that in two years' time the King had named fifteen bishops; and they were generally looked on as the most learned, the wisest, and best men that were in the Church.

As soon as this was over, the King went back to command his army in Flanders. Both armies were now making haste to take the field. But the French were quicker than the confederates had yet learned to be. Prince Waldeck had not got above eighteen thousand men together, when Luxemburg, with an army of forty thousand men, was marching to have surprised Brussels; and at the same time Boufflers, with another army, came up to Liege. Waldeck posted his army so well that Luxemburg, believing it stronger than indeed it was, did not attempt to break through, in which it was believed he might have succeeded. The King hastened the rest of the troops, and came himself to the army in good time, not only to cover Brussels, but to send a detachment to the relief of Liege, which had been bombarded for two days. A body of Germans, as well as that which the King sent to them, came in good time to support those of Liege, who were beginning to think of capitulating. So Boufflers drew off; and the French kept themselves so close in their posts all the rest of the campaign, that though the King made many motions, to try if it was possible to bring them to a battle, yet he could not do it.

Matters went on at sea with the same caution. Dunkirk was for some time blocked up by a squadron of ours. The great fleet went to find out the French, but they had orders to avoid an engagement, and though for the space of two months Russell did all he could to come up to them, yet they still kept at a distance, and sailed off in the night; so that though he was sometimes in view of them, yet he lost it next day. The trading part of the nation was very apprehensive of the danger the Smyrna fleet might be in, in which the Dutch and English effects together were valued at four millions; for though they had a great convoy, yet the French fleet stood out to intercept them; but they got safe into Kinsale. The season went over without any action; and Russell, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a storm, which was much censured, for that road is not safe, and two considerable ships were lost upon the occasion. Great factions were among the flag officers; and no other service was done by this great equipment but that our trade was maintained.

But while we had no success either in Flanders or at sea, we were more happy in Ireland, even beyond expectation. The campaign was opened with the taking of Baltimore, on which the Irish had wrought much, that Athlone might be covered by it. We took it in one day, and the garrison had only ammunition for a day more. St. Ruth, one of the most violent of all the persecutors of the Protestants in France, was sent over with two hundred officers to command the Irish army. This first action reflected on his conduct, who left a thousand men with so slender a provision of ammunition that they were all made prisoners of war. From thence Ginkell advanced to Athlone, where St. Ruth was posted on the other side of the Shannon, with an army in number equal to his. The river was deep, but fordable in several places. The castle was soon turned to a ruin by the cannon; but the passing the river in the face of an enemy was no easy thing, the ford being so narrow that they could not pass above twenty in front. Parties were sent out to try other fords, which probably made the enemy imagine that they never intended to pass the river just under the town, where the ford was both deep and narrow. Talmash, a general officer, moved that two battalions might have guineas apiece to encourage them; and he offered to march over at the head of them, which was presently executed by Mackay with so much resolution, that many ancient officers said it was the most gallant action they had ever seen. They passed the river and went through the breaches into the town, with the loss only of fifty men, having killed above a thousand of the enemy; and yet they spared all that asked quarter. St. Ruth did not upon this occasion act suitably to the reputation he had formerly acquired; he retired to Aghrim, where he posted himself to great advantage, and was much superior to Ginkell in number; for he had abandoned many small garrisons to increase his army, which was now twenty-eight thousand strong, whereas Ginkell had not above twenty thousand; so that the attacking him was no advisable thing, if the courage of the English and the cowardice of the Irish had not made a difference so considerable as neither numbers nor posts could balance.

St. Ruth had indeed taken the most effectual way possible to infuse courage into the Irish. He had sent their priests about among them to animate them by all the methods they could think of; and, as the most powerful of all others, they made them swear on the sacrament that they would never forsake their colours. This had a good effect on them; for as, when Ginkell fell on them, they had a great bog before them, and the grounds on both sides were very favourable to them, with those advantages they maintained their ground much longer than they had been accustomed to do. They disputed the matter so obstinately, that for about two hours the action was very hot, and every battalion and squadron on both sides had a share in it. But nature will be always too strong for art; the Irish in conclusion trusted more to their heels than to their hands; the foot threw down their arms and ran away. St. Ruth and many more officers were killed, and about eight thousand soldiers and all their cannon and baggage were taken, so that it was a total defeat; only the night favoured a body of horse that got off. From thence Ginkell advanced to Galway, which capitulated; so that now Limerick was the only place that stood out. A squadron of ships was sent to shut up the river. In the meanwhile, the Lords Justices issued out a new proclamation, with an offer of life and estate to such as within a fortnight should come under the King's protection.

Ginkell pursued his advantages; and, having reduced all Connaught, he came and sat down before Limerick, and bombarded it. But that had no great effect; and though most of the houses were beaten down, yet as long as the Connaught side was open, fresh men and provisions were still brought into the place. When the men-of-war were come up near the town, Ginkell sent over a part of his army to the Connaught side, who fell upon some bodies of the Irish that lay there and broke them, and pursued them so close, as they retired to Limerick, that the French governor, D'Usson, fearing that the English would have come in with them, drew up the bridge, so that many of them were killed and drowned. This contributed very much towards heightening the prejudices that the Irish had against the French. The latter were so inconsiderable, that if Sarsfield and some of the Irish had not joined with them, they could not have made their party good. The Earl of Tyrconnel had, with a particular view, studied to divert the French from sending over soldiers into Ireland; for he designed, in case of new misfortunes, to treat with the King, and to preserve himself and his friends; and now he began to dispose the Irish to think of treating, since they saw that otherwise their ruin was inevitable. But as soon as this was suspected, all the military men, who resolved to give themselves up entirely to the French interest, combined against him, and blasted him as a feeble and false man who was not to be trusted. This was carried so far that, to avoid affronts, he was advised to leave the army; and he stayed all this summer at Limerick, where he died of grief, as was believed; but, before he died, he advised all that came to him not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of such terms as could be got; and his words seemed to weigh more after his death than in his lifetime, for the Irish began generally to say that they must take care of themselves, and not be made sacrifices to serve the ends of the French. This was much heightened by the slaughter of the Irish whom the French governor had shut out and left to perish. They wanted no provisions in Limerick; and a squadron of French ships stood over to that coast, which was much stronger than ours that had sailed up to the town. So it was to be feared that they might come into the river to destroy our ships.

To hinder that, another squadron of English men-of-war was ordered thither. Yet the French did not think fit to venture their ships within the Shannon, where they had no places of shelter; the misunderstanding that daily grew between the Irish and the French was great; and all appearance of relief from France failing, made them resolve to capitulate. This was very welcome to Ginkell and his army, who began to be in great wants; for that country was quite wasted, having been the seat of war for three years; and all their draught horses were so wearied out that their camp was often ill supplied.

When they came to capitulate, the Irish insisted on very high demands, which were set on by the French, who hoped they would be rejected; but the King had given Ginkell secret directions that he should grant all the demands they could make that would put an end to that war, so everything was granted, to the great disappointment of the French, and the no small grief of some of the English, who hoped this war would have ended in the total ruin of the Irish interest. During the treaty, a saying of Sarsfield's deserves to be remembered, for it was much talked of all Europe over. He asked some of the English officers if they had not come to a better opinion of the Irish by their behaviour during this war; and whereas they said it was much the same that it had always been, Sarsfield answered, "As low as we now are, change but kings with us, and we will fight it over again with you." Those of Limerick treated not only for themselves, but for all the rest of their countrymen that were yet in arms. They were all indemnified and restored to all that they had enjoyed in King Charles's time. They were also admitted to all the privileges of subjects, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance to their Majesties, without being bound to take the oath of supremacy. Not only the French, but as many of the Irish as had a mind to go over to France, had free liberty and a safe transportation; and upon that about twelve thousand of them went over. And thus ended the war of Ireland; and with that our civil war came to a final end.

There was at this time a very barbarous massacre committed in Scotland, which showed both the cruelty and the treachery of some of those who had unhappily insinuated themselves into the King's confidence. The Earl of Breadalbane formed a scheme of quieting all the Highlanders, if the King would give twelve or fifteen thousand pounds for doing it, which was remitted down from England. And this was to be divided among the heads of the tribes or clans of the Highlanders. He employed his emissaries among them, and told them the best service they could do King James was to lie quiet, and reserve themselves to a better time; and if they would take the oaths, the King would be contented with that, and they were to have a share of this sum that was sent down to buy their quiet. But this came to nothing; their demands rose high; they knew this lord had money to distribute among them; they believed he intended to keep the best part of it to himself; so they asked more than he could give. Among the most clamorous and obstinate of these were the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were believed guilty of much robbery and many murders, and so had gained too much by their pilfering war to be easily brought to give it over. The head of that valley had so particularly provoked Lord Breadalbane, that, as his scheme was quite defeated by the opposition that he raised, so he designed a severe revenge. The King had, by a proclamation, offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders that had been in arms against him, upon their coming in, by a prefixed day, to take the oaths: the day had been twice or thrice prolonged, and it was at last carried to the end of the year 1691, with a positive threatening of proceeding to military execution against such as should not come into his obedience by the last day of December.

All were so terrified that they came in; and even that Macdonald went to the governor of Fort William on the last of December, and offered to take the oaths; but he, being only a military man, could not, or would not, tender them, and Macdonald was forced to seek for some of the legal magistrates to tender them to him. The snows were then fallen; so four or five days passed before he could come to a magistrate. He took the oaths in his presence on the 4th or 5th of January, when, by the strictness of law, he could claim no benefit by it. The matter was signified to the Council, and the person had a reprimand for giving him the oaths when the day was past.

This was kept from the King; and the Earl of Breadalbane came to Court to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, since he could not do the service for which he had it. He informed against this Macdonald, as the chief person who had defeated that good design, and that he might both gratify his own revenge and render the King odious to all the Highlanders, he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe. An instruction was drawn by the Secretary of State, Lord Stair, to be both signed and countersigned by the King (that so he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the King), that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited should be shut out of the benefit of the indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found that this would not authorise what was intended, a second order was got to be signed and countersigned, that if the Glencoe men could be separated from the rest of the Highlanders, some examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest. The King signed this without any inquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in dispatching business; for, as he was apt to suffer things to run on till there was a great heap of papers laid before him, so then he signed them a little too precipitately. But all this while the King knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the oaths within the time, nor of his having taken them soon after it was past, when he came to a proper magistrate. As these orders were sent down, the Secretary of State wrote many private letters to Livingstone, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a strict charge and particular directions for the execution of them; and he ordered the passes in the valley to be kept, describing them so minutely, that the orders were certainly drawn by one who knew the country well. He gave also a positive direction that no prisoners should be taken, that so the execution might be as terrible as was possible. He pressed this upon Livingstone with strains of vehemence that looked as if there was something more than ordinary in it: he indeed grounded it on his zeal for the King's service, adding that such rebels and murderers should be made examples of.

In February a company were sent to Glencoe, who were kindly received and quartered over the valley; the inhabitants thinking themselves safe, and looking for no hostilities. After they had stayed a week among them, they took their time in the night and killed about six-and-thirty of them, the rest taking the alarm and escaping. This raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the King's government as cruel and barbarous, though in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild rather to an excess. The King sent orders to inquire into the matter; but when the letters written upon this business were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the King's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of Stair from his service. The Highlanders were so inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a disposition as the Jacobites could wish for to have rebelled upon the first favourable opportunity; and indeed the not punishing this with a due rigour was the greatest blot in this whole reign, and had a very great effect in alienating that nation from the King and his government.

An incident happened near the end of this session that had very ill effects, which I unwillingly mention, because it cannot be told without some reflections on the memory of the Queen, whom I always honoured beyond all the persons I had ever known. The Earl of Nottingham came to the Earl of Marlborough with a message from the King, telling him that he had no more use for his services, and therefore he demanded all his commissions. What drew so sudden and so hard a message was not known; for he had been with the King that morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary manner. It seemed some letter was intercepted, which gave suspicion: it is certain that he thought he was too little considered, and that he had upon many occasions censured the King's conduct, and reflected on the Dutch. But the original cause of his disgrace arose from another consideration: the Princess Anne thought herself too much neglected by the King, whose cold way towards her was soon observed. After the King was on the throne, no propositions were made to her of a settlement, nor any advances of money. So she, thinking she was to be kept in a necessitous dependence on the Court, got some one to move in the House of Commons, in the year 1690, when they were in the debate concerning the revenue, that she should have assignments suitable to her dignity. This both King and Queen took amiss from her. The Queen complained more particularly that she was ill after the lying-in of the Duke of Gloucester at Hampton

Court, and that she herself was treating her and the young child with the tenderness of a mother, and that yet such a motion was made before she had tried, in a private way, what the King intended to assign her. The Princess, on the other hand, said she knew the Queen was a good wife, submissive and obedient to everything that the King desired; so she thought the best way was to have a settlement by Act of Parliament. On the other hand, the custom had always been that the royal family (a Prince of Wales not excepted) was kept in a dependence on the King, and had no allowance but from his mere favour and kindness; yet in this case, in which the Princess was put out of the succession during the King's life, it seemed reasonable that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. The act passed, allowing her a settlement of £50,000. But upon this a coldness followed between not only the King, but even the Queen and the Princess. And the blame of this motion was cast on the Countess of Marlborough, as most in favour with the Princess; and this had contributed much to alienate the King from her husband, and had disposed him to receive ill impressions of him.

Upon his disgrace, his lady was forbidden the Court. The Princess would not submit to this; she thought she ought to be allowed to keep what persons she pleased about herself; and when the Queen insisted on the thing, she retired from the Court. There were, no doubt, ill offices done on all hands, as there were some that pressed the Princess to submit to the Queen, as well as others who pressed the Queen to pass it over, but without effect. Both had engaged themselves before they had well reflected on the consequences of such a breach, and the matter went so far that the Queen ordered that no public honours should be shown the Princess, besides many other lesser matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, because I was much troubled to see the Queen carry such a matter so far; and the breach continued to the end of her life. The enemies of the Government tried what could be made of this to create distractions among us; but the Princess gave no encouragement to them, so that the misunderstanding had no other effect but that it gave enemies much ill-natured joy and a secret spiteful diversion.

The King gave Russell the command of the fleet, though he had put himself on ill terms with him, by pressing to know the grounds of the Earl of Marlborough's disgrace. He had not only lived in great friendship with him, but had carried the first messages that had passed between him and the King when he went over to Holland: he almost upbraided the King with the Earl of Marlborough's services, who, as he said, had set the crown on his head. Russell also came to be on ill terms with the Earl of Nottingham, who, as he thought, supported a faction among the flag officers against him; and he fell indeed into so ill a humour on many accounts, that he seemed to be for some time in doubt whether he ought to undertake the command of the fleet or not. I tried, at the desire of some of his friends, to soften him a little, but without success.

The King went over to Holland in March to prepare for an early campaign. He intimated somewhat in his speech to the Parliament of a descent designed upon France; but we had neither men nor money to execute it. And, while we were pleasing ourselves with the thoughts of a descent on France, King James was preparing for a real one on England. It was intended to be made in the end of April. He had about him fourteen thousand English and Irish; and Marshal Bellefonds was to accompany him with about three thousand French. They were to sail from Cherbourg and La Hogue, and some other places in Normandy, and to land in Sussex, and from thence to march with all haste to London. A transport fleet was also brought thither. They were to bring over only a small number of horses; for their party in England undertook to furnish them with horses at their landing. At the same time the King of France was to march with a great army into Flanders; and he reckoned that the descent in England would either have succeeded, since there was a very small force left within the kingdom, or at least that it would have obliged the King to come over with some of his English troops; and in that case, which way soever the war of England had ended, he should have mastered Flanders, and so forced the States to submit; and in case other designs had failed, there was one in reserve, managed by the French ministry and by Luxemburg, of assassinating the King, which would have brought about all their designs. The French King seemed to think the project was so well laid that it could not miscarry; for he said publicly, before he set out, that he was going to make an end of the war. In the beginning of May, about forty of our ships were on the coast of Normandy, and were endeavouring to destroy their transport ships, upon which orders were sent to Marshal

Tourville to sail to the Channel and fight the English fleet. They had a westerly wind to bring them within the Channel; but then the wind struck into the east, and stood so long there, that it both brought over the Dutch fleet and brought about our great ships. By this means our whole fleet was joined, so that Tourville's design of getting between the several squadrons that composed it was lost. The King of France, being then in Flanders, upon this change of wind sent orders to Tourville not to fight; yet the vessel that carried these was taken, and the duplicate of these orders, that was sent by another conveyance, came not to him till the day after the engagement.

On the 19th of May, Russell came up with the French, and was almost twice their number; yet not above the half of his ships could be brought into action by reason of the winds. Rooke, one of his admirals, was thought more in fault. The number of the ships that engaged was almost equal. Our men said that the French neither showed courage nor skill in the action. The night and a fog separated the two fleets, after an engagement that had lasted some hours. The greatest part of the French ships drew near their coasts; but Russell not casting anchor, as the French did, was carried out by the tide, so next morning he was at some distance from them. A great part of the French fleet sailed westward through a dangerous sea, called the Race of Alderney. Ashby was sent to pursue them, and he followed them some leagues; but then the pilots pretending danger, he came back; so twenty-six of them, whom if Ashby had pursued, by all appearance, he had destroyed them all, got into St. Malo's. Russell came up to the French admiral and the other ships that had drawn near their coasts. Delaval burnt the admiral and his two seconds; and Rooke burnt sixteen more before La Hogue.

The French succeeded in the siege of Namur, a place of great importance, that commanded both the Maese and Sambre, and covered both Liege and Maestricht. The town did soon capitulate, but the citadel held out much longer. The King came with a great army to raise the siege; Luxemburg lay in his way with another to cover it, and the Mehaigne lay between. The King intended to pass the river and force a battle; but such rains fell the night before he designed to do it, and the river swelled so much, that he could not pass it for some days. He tried by another motion to come and raise the siege; but the town having capitulated so early, and the citadel lying on the other side of the Sambre, he could not come at it; so after a month's siege it was taken. This was looked upon as the greatest action of the French King's life; that, notwithstanding the depression of such a defeat at sea, he yet supported his measures so as to take that important place in the view of a great army. The King's conduct was on this occasion much censured; it was said he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than suffer such a place to be taken in his sight.

After Namur surrendered, that King went back to Paris in his usual method; for, according to the old Persian luxury, he used to bring the ladies with him, with the music, poems, and scenes for an opera and a ball, in which he and his actions were to be set out with the pomp of much flattery. When this action was over, his forces lay on the defensive, and both armies made some motions, watching and waiting on one another.

At Steinkirk the King thought he had a favourable occasion for attacking the French in their camp; but the ground was found to be narrower and less practicable than the King had been made to believe it was. Ten battalions began the attack, and carried a post with cannon, and maintained it long, doing great execution on the enemy; and if they had been supported or brought it off, it would have proved a brave attempt, but they were cut in pieces. In the whole action the French lost many more men than the confederates did, for they came so thick that our fire made great execution. The conduct of this affair was much censured. It was said the ground ought to have been better examined before the attack was begun, and the men ought to have been better maintained than they were; for many thought that if this had been done we might have had a total victory. Count Solmes bore the blame of the errors committed on this occasion. The English had been sometimes checked by him, as he was much disgusted with their heat and pride; so they charged all on him, who had some good qualities, but did not manage them in an obliging manner. We lost in this action about five thousand men, and many brave officers. Here Mackay was killed, being ordered to a post that he saw could not be maintained. He sent his opinion about it; but the former orders were confirmed; so he went on, saying only, "The will of the Lord be done." He was a man of such strict principles, that he would not have served in a war that he did not think lawful. He took great care of his soldiers' morals, and forced them to be both sober and just in their quarters; he spent all the time that he was master of in secret prayers, and in reading of the Scriptures. The King often observed that when he had full leisure for his devotions, he acted with a peculiar exaltation of courage. He had one very singular quality; in councils of war he delivered his opinion freely, and maintained it with due zeal; but how positive soever he was in it, if the council of war overruled, even though he was not convinced by it, yet to all others he justified it, and executed his part with the same zeal as if his own opinion had prevailed. After the action at Steinkirk there was little done this campaign. A detachment that the King sent from his army, joined with those bodies that came from England, broke in some way into the French conquests; they fortified Dixmude and Furnes, and put the country about them under contribution, and became very uneasy neighbours to Dunkirk. The command of those places was given to the Count of Horn, who understood well the way to make all possible advantages by contributions; but he was a man of no great worth, and of as little courage. This disgusted the English still more, who said the Dutch were always trusted and preferred, while they were neglected. They had some colour to censure this choice the following winter; for, upon the motion of some French troops, Horn, without studying to amuse the enemy, or to gain time, upon which much may depend in winter, did immediately abandon Dixmude. All he had to justify himself was a letter from the Elector of Bavaria, telling him that he could send him no relief; and therefore he ordered him to take care of the garrison, which was of more importance than the place itself. Thus the campaign ended in Flanders; Namur was lost; the reputation of the King's conducting armies was much sunk; and the English were generally discontented and alienated from the Dutch.

The session of Parliament was opened under great disadvantages. The Earl of Marlborough and some other peers had been put in the Tower upon a false accusation of high treason, which was evidently proved to be a conspiracy designed by some profligate creatures, who fancied that forgeries and false swearing would be as acceptable and as well rewarded in this reign as they had been formerly. But, till this was detected, the persons accused were kept in prison, and were now only out upon bail; so it was said to be contrary to the nature and freedom of Parliament for prisoners to sit in it. It was confessed that in time of danger, and such was the former summer, it must be trusted to the discretion of a government to commit such persons as were suspected; but when the danger was over by our victory at sea, those against whom there lay nothing besides suspicions ought to have been set at liberty; and this was thought reasonable. There was an association pretended to be drawn against the Government, to which the subscriptions of many lords were set so dexterously, that the lords themselves said they could not distinguish between their true subscriptions and those that were forged for them. But the manner of the discovery, with several other circumstances, carried such marks of imposture, that the Lords of the Council ordered a strict prosecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full conviction of the forgery; and those who had combined in it were whipped and pilloried, which, to the reproach of our constitution, is the only punishment that our law has yet provided for such practices. The Lords passed some votes asserting their privileges; and were offended with the judges for detaining some in prison, though there was no reason nor colour for their displeasure. But where the privilege or the dignity of peerage is in question, it is not easy to keep the House within bounds.

The debate went off in a bill that indemnified the ministry for those commitments, but limited them for the future by several rules, all which rules were rejected by the Commons. They thought those limitations gave a legal power to commit in cases where they were observed; whereas they thought the safer way was to indemnify the ministry when it was visible they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to set them any rules, since as to the committing of suspected persons, where the danger is real and visible, the public safety must be first looked to and supersede all particular laws. When this was over, an attempt was made in both Houses for the abjuration of King James: the King himself was more set on it than he had been formerly. It was rejected by the House of Commons, and though some steps were made in it by the Lords, yet the opposition was so great that it was let fall.

When this failed, another attempt was made in the House of Lords, in a bill that was offered, enacting that a session of Parliament should be held every year, and a new Parliament be summoned every third year, and that the present Parliament should be dissolved within a limited time. The statutes for annual Parliaments in King Edward I. and King Edward III.'s time are well known; but it is a question whether the supposition "if need be" falls upon the whole act, or only upon those words "or oftener." It is certain these acts were never observed, and the non-observance of them was never complained of as a grievance. Nor did the famous act in King Charles I.'s time carry the necessity of holding a session further than to once in three years. Anciently, considering the haste and hurry in which Parliaments sat, an annual Parliament might be no great inconvenience to the nation; but by reason of the slow methods of session now, an annual Parliament in times of peace would become a very insupportable grievance. A Parliament of a long continuance seemed to be very dangerous either to the Crown or to the nation. If the conjuncture and their proceedings gave them much credit, they might grow very uneasy to the Crown, as happened in King Charles I.'s time; or, in another situation of affairs, they might be so practised upon by the Court that they might give all the money and all the liberties of England up when they were to have a large share of the money, and were to be made the instruments of tyranny, as it was likely to have been in King Charles II.'s time. All that was objected against this was, that frequent elections would make the freeholders proud and insolent, when they knew that applications must be made to them at the end of three years; this would establish a faction in every body of men that had a right to an election; and whereas now an election put men to a great charge all at once, then the charge must be perpetual all the three years, in laying in for a new election, when it was known how soon it must come round. And as for the dissolution of the present Parliament, some were for leaving it to the general triennial clause, that it might still sit three years. They thought that, during so critical a war as that in which we were now engaged, it was not advisable to venture on a new election, since we had so many among us who were so ill affected to the present establishment; yet it was said this Parliament had already sat three years, and therefore it was not consistent with the general reason of the act to let it continue longer. So the bill passed in the House of Lords; and though a bill from them, dissolving a Parliament, struck only in the House of Commons, the Lords being still the same men, so that upon that single account many thought they would have rejected it, yet they also passed it, and fixed their own dissolution to the 25th of March in the next year; so that they reserved another session to themselves. The King let the bill lie for some time on the table, so that men's eyes and expectations were much fixed on the issue of it. But, in conclusion, he refused to pass it; so the session ended in ill humour. The rejecting a bill, though an unquestionable right of the Crown, has been so seldom practised, that the two Houses are apt to think it a hardship when there is a bill denied. Two years subsequently, however, the Triennial Bill was passed, in November, 1694.

But now I go on to the transactions of this summer. The King had, in his speech to the Parliament, told them he intended to land a considerable army in France this year; so, after the session, orders were given for hiring a fleet for transports, with so great a train of artillery, that it would have served an army of forty thousand men. This was very acceptable to the whole nation, who loved an active war, and were very uneasy to see so much money paid, and so little done with it; but all this went off without any effect.

The two armies lay long in Flanders, watching one another's motions, without coming to action. In July Luxemburg went to besiege Huy, and carried it in two or three days. The King moved that way, on design either to raise the siege or to force a battle. Those in Huy did not give him time to come to their relief; and Luxemburg made a feint towards Liege, which obliged the King to send some battalions to reinforce the garrison of that place. He had also sent another great detachment, commanded by the Duke of Würtemburg, to force the French lines, and to put their country under contribution, which he executed with great success, and raised above four millions. Luxemburg thought this was an advantage not to be lost; so that, as soon as he had received orders from the King of France to attack the King in his camp, he came up to him near Landen, upon the river Gitte. He was about double the King's number, chiefly in horse. The King might have secured himself from all attacks by passing the river; and his conduct in not doing it was much censured, considering his strength and the enemy's. He chose rather to stay for them, but sent away the baggage and heavy cannon to Mechlin, and spent the whole night in planting batteries and casting up retrenchments. On the 29th of July the French began their attack early in the morning, and came on with great resolution, though the King's cannon did great execution. They were beaten off with the loss of many officers in several attacks; yet they came still on with fresh bodies, till at last, after an action of seven or eight hours' continuance, they broke through in a place where there was such a body of German and Spanish horse, that the army on no side was thought less in danger. These troops gave way; and so the French carried the honour of the day, and were masters both of the King's camp and cannon; but the King passed the river, and cut the bridges, and lay secure out of reach. He had supported the whole action with so much courage and so true a judgment, that it was thought he got more honour that day than even when he triumphed at the Boyne. He charged himself in several places; many were shot round about him with the enemy's cannon; one musket-shot carried away part of his scarf, and another went through his hat, without doing him any harm. The French lost so many men, and suffered so much in the several onsets they had made, that they were not able to pursue a victory which cost them so dear. We lost in all about seven thousand, and among these there was scarce an officer of note; only the Count de Solmes had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball, of which he died in a few hours. By all the accounts that came from France, it appeared that the French had lost double the number, with a vastly greater proportion of officers. The King's behaviour during the battle, and in the retreat, was much magnified by the enemy, as well as by his own side. The King of France was reported to have said upon it, that Luxemburg's behaviour was like the Prince of Condé's, but the King's like Marshal Turenne's. His army was in a few days as strong as ever by recalling the Duke of Würtemburg and the battalions he had sent to Liege, and some other bodies that he drew out of garrisons. And the rest of the campaign passed over without any other action, only at the end of it, after the King had left the army, Charleroi was besieged by the French. The country about it had been so eaten up, that it was not possible to subsist an army that might have been brought to relieve it. The garrison made a brave resistance, and held out a month, but it was taken at last. Thus the French triumphed everywhere.

But while the campaign in all its scenes was thus unequal and various, the French, though much weaker at sea, were the most successful there; and though we had the superior strength, we were very unprosperous, and by our ill conduct we lost much, both in our honour and interest on that element. The great difficulty that the French were under in their marine was by reason of their two great ports, Brest and Toulon, and from the bringing their fleets together, and sending them back again.

The danger they ran in that, and the delays that it put them under, were the chief occasions of their losses last year; but these were, in a great measure, made up to them now. We were sending a very rich fleet of merchant ships to the Mediterranean, which was valued at many millions; some of these had lain ready a year and a half, waiting for a convoy, but were still put off by new delays; nor could they obtain one after Russell's victory, though we were then masters at sea. They were promised a great one in winter. The number of the merchant ships did still increase; so that the convoy which was at first designed was not thought equal to the riches of the fleet, and to the danger they might run by ships that might be sent from Toulon to intercept them. The Court of France was watching this carefully. A spy among the Jacobites gave advice that certain persons sent from Scotland to France, to show with how small a force they might make themselves masters of that kingdom, had hopes given them for some time, upon which several military men went to Lancashire and Northumberland to see what could be expected from thence, if commotions should happen in Scotland. But in February the French said they could not do what was expected; and the Scottish agents were told that they were obliged to look after the Smyrna fleet, which they reckoned might be of more consequence than even the carrying Scotland could be. The fleet was ready in February, but new excuses were again made; for it was said the convoy must be increased to twenty men-of-war. Rooke was to command it. A new delay was likewise put in, on the pretence of staying for advice from Toulon, whether the squadron that was laid up there was to lie in the Mediterranean this year, or to come about to Brest. The merchants were very uneasy under these delays, since the charge was likely to eat up the profit of the voyage; but no dispatch could be had, and very probable reasons were offered to justify every new retardment. The French fleet had gone early out of Toulon, on design to have destroyed the Spanish fleet, which lay in the Bay of Puzzuoli; but they lay so safe there, that the French saw they could not succeed in any attempt upon them. Afterwards they stood off to the coast of Catalonia, to assist their army, which was making some conquests there. Yet these were only feints to amuse and to cover their true design. The fleet at Brest sailed away from thence so suddenly, that they were neither completely manned nor victualled; and they came to Lagos Bay in Algarve. Tenders were sent after them, with the necessary complement of men and provisions. This sudden and unprovided motion of the French fleet looked as if some secret advice had been sent from England, acquainting them with our designs. But at the Secretary's office not only there was no intelligence concerning their fleet, but when a ship came in that brought the news of their having sailed from Brest, they were not believed. Our main fleet sailed out into the sea for some leagues with Rooke and the merchant ships; and when they thought they were out of danger, they came back. Rooke was unhappy in that which, upon any other occasion, would have been a great happiness: he had a fair and a strong gale of wind, so that no advice sent after him could overtake him; nor did he meet with any ships at sea that could give him notice of the danger that lay before him. He doubled Cape St. Vincent, and had almost fallen in with the French fleet before he was aware of it. He dreamed of no danger but from the Toulon squadron, till he took a fire-ship, the captain whereof endeavoured to deceive him by a false story, as if there had been only fifteen men-of-war lying at Lagos, that intended to join D'Estrées. The merchants were for going on, and believed the information. They were confirmed in this by the disorder the French seemed to be in; for they were cutting their cables, and drawing near the shore. The truth was, when they saw Rooke's fleet, they apprehended by their numbers that the whole fleet of England was coming towards them; and indeed, had they come so far with them, here was an occasion offered, which perhaps may not be found again in an age, of destroying their whole strength at sea. But as the French soon perceived their error, and were forming themselves into a line, Rooke saw his error likewise, and stood out to sea, while the merchants fled as their fears drove them, a great many of them sticking still close to him; others sailed to Cadiz, and some got to Gibraltar, and, instead of pursuing their voyage, put in there; some ships were burnt or sunk, and a very small number were taken by the French. They did not pursue Rooke, but let him sail away to the Madeiras; and from thence he came, first to Kinsale, and then into England. The French tried what they could do upon Cadiz, but found that it was not practicable. They next came to Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, to prevent their falling into their hands; from thence they sailed along the coast of Spain, and burnt some English and Dutch ships that were lying at Malaga, Alicant, and in some other places. They hoped to have destroyed the Spanish fleet; but they put in at Port Mahon, where they were safe. At length, after a very glorious campaign, the French came back to Toulon. It is certain, if Tourville had made use of all his advantages, and had executed the design as well as it was projected, he might have done us much mischief: few of our men-of-war or merchantmen could have got out of his hands. The loss fell heaviest on the Dutch; the voyage was quite lost, and the disgrace of it was visible to the whole world, and very sensible to the trading part of the nation.

The King came over to England in November. He saw the necessity of changing both his measures and his ministers; he expressed his delight of the whole conduct at sea; and named Russell for the command of the fleet next year. He dismissed the Earl of Nottingham, and would immediately have brought the Earl of Shrewsbury again into the ministry; but when that lord came to him, he thought the King's inclinations were still the same that they had been for some years, and that the turn which he was now making was not from choice, but force; so that went off, and the Earl of Shrewsbury went into the country; yet the King soon after sent for him, and gave him such assurances that he was again made Secretary of State, to the general satisfaction of the Whigs. But the person who had the King's confidence to the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had. He had brought the King to this change of counsels by the prospect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in, if he did not entirely both trust and satisfy those who, in the present conjuncture, were the only party that both could and would support him. It was said that the true secret of this change of measures was, that the Tories signified to the King plainly that they could carry on the war no longer, and that, therefore, he must accept of such a peace as could be had. This was the most pernicious thing that could be thought on, and the most contrary to the King's notions and designs; but they being positive, he was forced to change hands, and to turn to the other party; so the Whigs were now in favour again, and everything was done that was likely to put them in good humour.

Among other funds that were created, one was for constituting a bank, which occasioned great debates. Some thought a bank would grow to be a monopoly; all the money of England would come into their hands, and they would in a few years become the masters of the stock and wealth of the nation. Others argued for it—that the credit it would have must increase trade and the circulation of money, at least in bank-notes. It was visible that all the enemies of the Government set themselves against it with such a vehemence of zeal, that this alone convinced all people that they saw the strength that our affairs would receive from it. I had heard the Dutch often reckon up the great advantages they had from their banks; and they concluded that, as long as England continued jealous of the Government, a bank could never be settled among us, nor gain credit enough to support itself; and upon that they judged that the superiority in trade must still lie on their side. This, with all the other remote funds that were created, had another good effect; it engaged all those who were concerned in them to be, upon the account of their own interest, zealous for maintaining the Government, since it was not to be doubted but that a revolution would have swept all these away. The advantages that the King, and all concerned in tallies, had from the bank, were soon so sensibly felt, that all people saw into the secret reasons that made the enemies of the constitution set themselves with so much earnestness against it.

The King went beyond sea in May, and the campaign was opened soon after. The armies of both sides came very near one another: the King commanded that of the confederates, as the Dauphin did the French. They lay between Brussels and Liege, and it was given out that they intended to besiege Maestricht. The King moved towards Namur, that he might either cut off their provisions or force them to fight; but they were resolved to avoid a battle, so they retired likewise, and the campaign passed over in the ordinary manner, both of them moving and watching one another. The King sent a great detachment to break into the French country at Pont Esperies; but though the body he sent had made a great advance before the French knew anything of their march, yet they sent away their cavalry with so much haste, and in so continued a march, that they were possessed of the pass before the body the King had sent could reach it, whereby they gained their point, though their cavalry suffered much. This design failing, the King sent another body towards Huy, who took it in a few days. It was become more necessary to do this for the covering of Liege, which was now broken into faction; their bishop was dead, and there was a great division in the chapter; some were for the Elector of Cologne, and others were for the Elector Palatine's brother; but that for the Elector of Cologne was the stronger party, and the Court of Rome judged in their favour. The differences between that Court and that of Versailles were now so far made up that the bulls for the bishops whom the King had named to the vacant sees were granted, upon the submission of all those who had been concerned in the articles of 1682. Yet after all that reconciliation, the real inclinations of the Court of Rome lay still towards the confederates: the alliance that France was in with the Turk was a thing of an odious sound at Rome. The taking of Huy covered Liege, so that they were both safer and quieter. The confederates, especially the English and the Dutch, grew weary of keeping up vast armies that did nothing else but lay for some months advantageously posted in view of the enemy without any action.

The King came to England in the beginning of November, and the Parliament was opened with a calmer face than had appeared in any session during this reign. The supplies that were demanded, the total amounting to five millions, were all granted readily.

But I am now coming towards the fatal period of this book. The Queen continued still to set a great example to the whole nation, which shined in all the parts of it. She used all possible methods for reforming whatever was amiss. She took ladies off from that idleness which not only wasted their time, but exposed them to many temptations; she engaged many both to read and to work; she wrought many hours a day herself with her ladies and her maids of honour working about her, while one read to them all. The female part of the Court had been in the former reigns subject to much censure and there was great cause for it; but she freed her Court so entirely from all suspicion, that there was not so much as a colour for discourses of that sort. She did divide her time so regularly between her closet and business, her work and diversion, that every minute seemed to have its proper employment; she expressed so deep a sense of religion, with so true a regard to it; she had such right principles and just notions; and her deportment was so exact in every part of it, all being natural and unconstrained, and animated with due life and cheerfulness; she considered everything that was laid before her so carefully, and gave such due encouragement to a freedom of speech; she remembered everything so exactly, observing at the same time the closest reservedness, yet with an open air of frankness; she was so candid in all she said, and cautious in every promise she made; and, notwithstanding her own great capacity, she expressed such a distrust of her own thoughts, and was so entirely resigned to the King's judgment, and so constantly determined by it, that when I laid all these things together, which I had large opportunities to observe, it gave a very pleasant prospect to balance the melancholy view that arose from the ill posture of our affairs in all other respects. It gave us a very particular joy when we saw that the person whose condition seemed to mark her out as the defender and perfecter of our Reformation, was such in all respects, in her public administration as well as in her private deportment, that she seemed well fitted for accomplishing that work for which we thought she was born. But we soon saw this hopeful view blasted, and our expectations disappointed, in the loss of her.

The small-pox raged this winter about London, some thousands dying of it, which gave us great apprehensions with relation to the Queen, for she had never had it.

In conclusion, she was taken ill, but the next day that seemed to go off. I had the honour to be half-an-hour with her that day, and she complained then of nothing. The day following she went abroad; but her illness returned so heavily on her that she could disguise it no longer; she shut herself up long in her closet that night, and burned many papers, and put the rest in order. After that she used some slight remedies, thinking it was only a transient indisposition; but it increased upon her, and, within two days after, the small-pox appeared, and with very bad symptoms. I will not enter into another's province, nor speak of matters so much out of the way of my own profession; but the physicians' part was universally condemned, and her death was imputed to the negligence or unskilfulness of Dr. Radcliffe. He was called for, and it appeared but too evidently that his opinion was chiefly considered, and was most depended on. Other physicians were afterwards called, but not till it was too late. The King was struck with this beyond expression. He came on the second day of her illness, and passed the bill for frequent Parliaments, which, if he had not done that day, it is very probable he would never have passed it. The day after he called me into his closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion; he burst out into tears, and cried out that there was no hope of the Queen, and that, from being the most happy, he was now going to be the most miserable, creature upon earth. He said during the whole course of their marriage he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself, though he added that I might know as much of her as any other person did. Never was such a face of universal sorrow seen in a Court, or in a town, as at this time: all people, men and women, young and old, could scarcely refrain from tears. On Christmas-day the small-pox sank so entirely, and the Queen felt herself so well upon it, that it was for awhile concluded she had the measles, and that the danger was over. This hope was ill grounded, and of a short continuance; for, before night, all was sadly changed. It appeared that the small-pox marks were now so sunk that there was no hope of raising them. Archbishop Tenison attended on her; he performed all devotions, and had much private discourse with her. When the desperate condition she was in was evident beyond doubt, he told the King he could not do his duty faithfully unless he acquainted her with the danger she was in. The King approved of it, and said, whatever effect it might have, he would not have her deceived in so important a matter And, as the Archbishop was preparing the Queen with some address, not to surprise her too much with such tidings, she presently apprehended his drift, but showed no fear nor disorder upon it. She said she thanked God that she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour; she had nothing then to do but to look up to God, and submit to his will. It went further, indeed, than submission, for she seemed to desire death rather than life; and she continued to the last minute of her life in that calm and resigned state. She had formerly written her mind, in many particulars, to the King, and she gave order to look carefully for a small scrutoire that she made use of, and to deliver it to the King; and, having dispatched that, she avoided the giving herself or him the tenderness which a final parting might have raised in them both. She was almost perpetually in prayer. The day before she died she received the sacrament, all the bishops who were attending being admitted to receive it with her. We were, God knows, a sorrowful company; for we were losing her who was our chief hope and glory on earth. She followed the whole office, repeating it after the Archbishop; she apprehended, not without some concern, that she should not be able to swallow the bread, yet it went down easily. When this was over, she composed herself solemnly to die. She slumbered sometimes, but said she was not refreshed by it; and said often that nothing did her good but prayer. She tried once or twice to have said somewhat to the King, but was not able to go through with it. She ordered the Archbishop to be reading to her such passages of Scripture as might fix her attention and raise her devotion. Several cordials were given, but all was ineffectual; she lay silent for some hours; and some words that came from her showed her thoughts began to break. In conclusion, she died on the 28th of December, about one in the morning, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign.

BOOK VI

OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III

THE two Houses of Parliament set an example that was followed by the whole nation, of making consolatory and dutiful addresses to the King. The Queen was buried with the ordinary ceremony, and with one piece of magnificence that could never happen before; for both Houses of Parliament went in procession before the chariot that carried her body to Westminster Abbey, where places were prepared for both Houses to sit in form, while the Archbishop preached the funeral sermon. This could never happen before, since the sovereign's death had always dissolved our Parliaments.

A bill was set on foot, which was long pursued, and in conclusion carried by the Tories. It was concerning trials for treason; and the design of it seemed to be to make men as safe in all treasonable conspiracies and practices as was possible. Two witnesses were to concur to prove the same fact, at the same time; counsel in matters of fact, and witnesses upon oath, were by it allowed to the prisoners; they were to have a copy of the indictment and the panel in due time. All these things were in themselves just and reasonable.

Towards the end of the session complaints were made of some military men who did not pay their quarters, pretending their own pay was in arrear; but it appearing that they had been paid, and the matter being further examined into, it was found that the superior officers had cheated the subalterns, which excused their not paying their quarters. Upon this the inquiry was carried further, and such discoveries were made that some officers were broken upon it, while others prevented complaints by satisfying those whom they had oppressed. It was found out that the Secretary of the Treasury had taken two hundred guineas for procuring the arrears due to a regiment to be paid; whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and turned out of his place. Many were the more sharpened against him because it was believed that he, as well as Trevor, the Speaker, was deeply concerned in corrupting the members of the House of Commons. He had held his place both in King Charles's and King James's time; and the share he had in the secret distribution of money had made him a necessary man for those methods.

But the House, being on this scent, carried the matter still further. In the former session of Parliament an act had passed, creating a fund for the repayment of the debt owing to the Orphans by the Chamber of London: and the Chamber had made Trevor a present of a thousand guineas for the service he did them in that matter: this was entered in their books, so that full proof was made of it. It was, indeed, believed that a much greater present had been made him in behalf of the Orphans; but no proof of that appeared, whereas what had been taken in so public a manner could not be hid. This was objected to Trevor as corruption and a breach of trust, and upon it he was expelled the House; and Mr. Paul Foley was chosen Speaker in his room, who had got great credit by his integrity, and his constant complaining of the Administration.

One discovery made way for another. It was found that in the books of the East India Company there were entries made of great sums given for secret services done the Company, that amounted to £170,000; and it was generally believed that the greatest part of it had gone among the members of the House of Commons. For the two preceding winters there had been attempts eagerly pursued by some for breaking the Company, and either opening a free trade to the Indies, or at least erecting a new company; but it was observed that some of the hottest sticklers against the Company did insensibly not only fall off from that heat, but turned to serve the Company as much as they had at first endeavoured to destroy it. Seymour was among the chief of these, and it was said that he had £12,000 of their money under the colour of a bargain for their saltpetre. Great pains and art were used to stifle this inquiry; but curiosity, envy, and ill-nature, as well as virtue, will on such occasions always prevail to set on inquiries. Those who have had nothing desire to know who have had something, while the guilty persons dare not show too great a concern in opposing discoveries. Sir Thomas Cook, a rich merchant, who was Governor of the Company, was examined concerning that great sum given for secret service, but he refused to answer; so a severe bill was brought in against him, in case he should not, by a prefixed day, confess how all that money had been disposed of. When the bill was sent up to the Lords, and was likely to pass, he came in and offered to make a full discovery, if he might be indemnified for all that he had done, or that he might say, in that matter. The enemies of the Court hoped for great discoveries that should disgrace both the ministers and the favourites; but it appeared that whereas both King Charles and King James had obliged the Company to make them a yearly present of £10,000, that the King had received this but once; and that though the Company offered a present of £50,000 if the King would grant them a new charter, and consent to an act of Parliament confirming it, the King had refused to hearken to it. There were, indeed, presumptions that the Marquis of Carmarthen had taken a present of five thousand guineas, which were sent back to Sir Thomas Cook the morning before he was to make his discovery. The Lords appointed twelve of their body to meet with twenty-four of the House of Commons to examine into this matter; but they were so ill satisfied with the account that was given them by the four persons who had been intrusted with the secret, that by a particular act, that passed both Houses, they were committed to the Tower of London till the end of the next session of Parliament, and restrained from disposing of their estates, real or personal.

The Queen, when she was dying, had received a kind letter from, and had sent a reconciling message to, the Princess Anne, and so that breach was made up. It is true the sisters did not meet; it was thought that might throw the Queen into too great a commotion, so it was put off till it was too late; yet the Princess came soon after to see the King, and there was after that an appearance of good correspondence between them; but it was little more than an appearance. They lived still in terms of civility and in formal visits; but the King did not bring her into any share in business, nor did he order his ministers to wait on her and give her any account of affairs. And now that he was to go beyond sea, she was not set at the head of the Councils, nor was there any care taken to oblige those who were about her. This looked either like a jealousy and distrust or a coldness towards her, which gave all the secret enemies of the Government a colour of complaint. They pretended zeal for the Princess, though they came little to her; and they made it very visible, on many occasions, that this was only a disguise for worse designs.

About the end of May the armies were brought together in Flanders; the King drew his main force towards the French lines, and the design was formed to break through and to destroy the French Flanders. Luxemburg died this winter; so the command of the French armies was divided between

Villeroi and Boufflers, but the former commanded the stronger army. An attempt was made on the fort of Knock, in order to force the lines, and there was some action about it; but all on the sudden Namur was invested, and the King drew off the main part of his army to besiege that place, and left above thirty thousand men under the command of the Prince of Vaudemont, who was the best general he had; for Prince Waldeck died above a year before this. With that army he was to cover Flanders and Brabant, while the King carried on the siege.

As soon as Namur was invested, Boufflers threw himself into it, with many good officers and a great body of dragoons. The garrison was twelve thousand strong. A place so happily situated, so well fortified, and so well furnished and commanded, made the attempt seem bold and doubtful. The dry season put the King under another difficulty; the Maese was so low that there was not water enough to bring up the barks laden with artillery and ammunition from Liege and Maestricht, so that many days were lost in bringing these overland; and if Villeroi had followed the King close, it is thought he must have quitted the design; but the French presumed upon the strength of the place and garrison, and on our being so little practised in sieges.

Villeroi attacked Dixmude and Deinse. The garrisons were not, indeed, able to make a great resistance; but they were ill commanded. If their officers had been masters of a true judgment or presence of mind, they might at least have got a favourable composition, and have saved the garrisons, though the places were not tenable; yet they were basely delivered up, and about seven thousand men were made prisoners of war.

Villeroi marched towards Brussels, and was followed by Prince Vaudemont, whose chief care was to order his motions so that the French might not get between him and the King's camp at Namur. He apprehended that Villeroi might bombard Brussels, and would have hindered it if the town could have been wrought on to give him the assistance that he desired of them. Townsmen upon all such occasions are more apt to consider a present, though a small expense, than a great, though an imminent danger; so Prince Vaudemont could not pretend to cover them. The Electoress of Bavaria was then in the town; and though Villeroi sent a compliment to her, yet he did not give her time to retire, but bombarded the place for two days with so much fury that a great part of the lower town was burnt down. When this execution was done, Villeroi marched towards Namur: his army was now so much increased by detachments brought from the Rhine, and troops drawn out of garrisons, that it was said to be one hundred thousand strong.

The siege was carried on with great vigour: the errors to which our want of practice exposed us were all corrected by the courage of our men; the fortifications, both in strength and in the extent of the outworks, were double to what they had been when the French took the place. Our men did not only succeed in every attack, but went much further. In the first great sally the French lost so many, both officers and soldiers, that after that they kept within their works and gave us no disturbance. Both the King and the Elector of Bavaria went frequently into the trenches. The town held out one month, and the citadel another. Upon Villeroi's approach, the King drew off all the troops that could be spared from the siege, and placed himself in his way with an army of sixty thousand men; but he was so well posted, that after Villeroi had looked on him for some days he found it was not advisable to attack him. Our men wished for a battle, as that which would not only decide the fate of Namur, but of the whole war. The French gave it out that they would put all to hazard rather than suffer such a diminution of their King's glory as the retaking that place seemed to be. But the signal of the citadel's treating put an end to Villeroi's designs; upon which he, apprehending that the King might then attack him, drew off with so much precipitation that it looked more like a flight than a retreat.

The capitulation was soon ended and signed by Boufflers, who, as was said, was the first marshal of France that had ever delivered up a place. He marched out with five thousand men; so it appeared he had lost seven thousand during the siege, and we lost in it only about the same number. This was reckoned one of the greatest actions of the King's life, and indeed one of the greatest that is in the whole history of war. It raised his character much, both at home and abroad, and gave a great reputation to his troops. The King had the entire credit of the matter, his general officers having a very small share in it, being most of them men of low genius, and little practised in things of that nature.

Our fleet was all the summer master of the Mediterranean.

The French were put into great disorder, and seemed to apprehend a descent, for Russell came before Marseilles and Toulon oftener than once: contrary winds forced him out to sea again, but with no loss. He himself told me he believed nothing could be done there; only the honour of commanding the sea, and of shutting the French within their ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs.

We had another fleet in our own Channel that was ordered to bombard the French coast. They did some execution upon St. Malo, and destroyed Grandville, that lay not far from it. They also attempted Dunkirk, but failed in the execution. Some bombs were thrown into Calais, but without any great effect, so that the French did not suffer so much by the bombardment as was expected. The country, indeed, was much alarmed by it; they had many troops dispersed all along their coast, so that it put their affairs in great disorder, and we were everywhere masters at sea. Another squadron, commanded by the Marquis of Carmarthen (whose father was created Duke of Leeds, to colour the dismissing him from business, with an increase of title), lay off from the Isles of Scilly, to secure our trade and convoy our merchants. He was an extravagant man, both in his pleasures and humours. He was slow in going to sea; and when he was out he fancied the French fleet was coming up to him, which proved to be only a fleet of merchant ships; so he left his station and retired into Milford Haven, by which means that squadron became useless, which proved fatal to our trade. Many of our Barbadoes ships were taken by French cruisers and privateers. Two rich ships coming from the East Indies were also taken, one hundred and fifty leagues to the westward, by a very fatal accident, or by some treacherous advertisement, for cruisers seldom go so far into the ocean; and to complete the misfortunes of the East India Company, three other ships that were come near Galway, on the west of Ireland, fell into the hands of some French privateers. Those five ships were valued at a million, so here was great occasion of discontent in the city of London. They complained that neither the Admiralty nor the Government took the care that was necessary for preserving the wealth of the nation. A French man-of-war at the same time fell upon our factory on the coast of Guinea, took the small fort we had there, and destroyed it.

There was a Parliament held in Scotland, where the Marquis of Tweeddale was the King's Commissioner. Everything that was asked for the King's supply, and for the subsistence of his troops, was granted. The massacre in Glencoe made still a great noise, and the King seemed too remiss in inquiring into it; but when it was represented to him that a session of Parliament could not be managed without high motions and complaints of so trying a matter, and that his ministers could not oppose these without seeming to bring the guilt of that blood that was so perfidiously shed both on the King and on themselves, to prevent that, he ordered a Commission to be passed under the Great Seal for a precognition in that matter, which is a practice in the law of Scotland of examining into crimes before the persons concerned are brought upon their trial. This was looked on as an artifice to cover that transaction by a private inquiry; yet when it was complained of in Parliament, not without reflections on the slackness in examining into it, the King's Commissioner assured them that, by the King's order, the matter was then under examination, and that it should be reported to the Parliament. The inquiry went on, and in the progress of it a new practice of the Earl of Breadalbane's was discovered; for the Highlanders deposed that while he was treating with them, in order to their submitting to the King, he had assured them that he still adhered to King James's interest, and that he pressed them to come into that pacification only to preserve them for his service till a more favourable opportunity. This, with several other treasonable discourses of his, being reported to the Parliament, he covered himself with his pardon, but these discourses happened to be subsequent to it, so he was sent a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh. He pretended he had secret orders from the King to say anything that would give him credit with them, which the King owned so far that he ordered a new pardon to be passed for him.

The report of the massacre of Glencoe was made in full Parliament. By that it appeared that a black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more clans, reckoned to be in all above six thousand persons. The whole was pursued in many letters, that were written with great earnestness; and though the King's orders carried nothing in them that was in any sort blamable, yet the Secretary of State's letters went much further; so the Parliament justified the King's instructions, but voted the execution in Glencoe to have been a barbarous massacre, and that it was pushed on by the Secretary of State's letters beyond the King's orders.

In this session an act passed in favour of such of the Episcopal clergy as should enter into those engagements to the King that were by law required; that they should continue in their benefices under the King's protection, without being subject to the power of the Presbytery. This was carried with some address before the Presbyterians were aware of the consequences of it, for it was plainly that which they call Erastianism. A day was limited to the clergy for taking the oaths; and by a very zealous and dexterous management, about seventy of the best of them were brought to take the oaths to the King; and so they came within the protection promised them by the act.

Another act passed that has already produced very fatal consequences to that kingdom, and may yet draw worse after it. The interlopers in the East India trade, finding that the Company was likely to be favoured by the Parliament, as well as by the Court, were resolved to try other methods to break in upon that trade. They entered into a treaty with some merchants in Scotland; and they had, in the former session, procured an act that promised letters patent to all such as should offer to set up new manufactures, or drive any new trade, not yet practised by that kingdom, with an exemption for twenty-one years from all taxes and customs, and with all such other privileges as should be found necessary for establishing or encouraging such projects. But here was a necessity of procuring letters patent, which they knew the credit that the East India Company had at Court would certainly render ineffectual; so they were now in treaty for a new act, which should free them from that difficulty. There was one Paterson, a man of no education, but of great notions, which, as was generally said, he had learned from the buccaneers, with whom he had consorted for some time. He had considered a place in Darien, where he thought a good settlement might be made, with another over against it in the South Sea; and, by two settlements there he fancied a great trade might be opened both for the East and West Indies, and that the Spaniards in the neighbourhood might be kept in great subjection to them. So he made the merchants believe that he had a great secret, which he did not think fit yet to discover, and reserved to a fitter opportunity, only he desired that the West Indies might be named in any new act that should be offered to the Parliament. He made them in general understand that he knew of a country, not possessed by Spaniards, where there were rich mines, and gold in abundance. While these matters were in treaty, the time of the King's giving the instructions to his Commissioner for the Parliament came on; and it had been a thing of course to give a general instruction to pass all bills for the encouragement of trade. Johnston told the King that he heard there was a secret management among the merchants for an act in Scotland, under which the East India trade might be set up; so he proposed and drew an instruction empowering the Commissioner to pass any bill promising letters patent for encouragement of trade, yet limited so that it should not interfere with the trade of England. When they went down to Scotland, the King's Commissioner either did not consider this, or had no regard for it; for he gave the royal assent to an act that gave the undertakers, either of the East India or West India trade, all possible privileges, with exemption of twenty-one years from all impositions; and the act directed letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, without any further warrant for them. When this was printed, it gave a great alarm in England, more particularly to the East India Company; for many of the merchants of London resolved to join stock with the Scotch Company, and the exemption from all duties gave a great prospect of gain. Such was the posture of affairs in Scotland.

As soon as the campaign was over in Flanders, the King intended to come over directly into England; but he was kept long on the other side by contrary winds. The Parliament was brought to a conclusion, and a new one was summoned. The King made a progress to the North, and stayed some days at the Earl of Sunderland's, which was the first public mark of the high favour he was in. The King studied to constrain himself to a little more openness and affability than was natural to him; but his cold and dry way had too deep a root not to return too oft upon him. The Jacobites were so descried that few of them were elected; but many of the sourer sort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the King, were chosen: generally, they were men of estates; but many were young, hot, and without experience. Foley was again chosen Speaker; the demand of the supply was still very high, and there was a great arrear of deficiencies; all was readily granted, and lodged on funds that seemed to be very probable.

In the beginning of February one Captain Fisher came to the

Earl of Portland, and in general told him there was a design to assassinate the King; but he would not, or could not then, name any of the persons who were concerned in it. He never appeared more, for he had assurances given him that he should not be made use of as a witness. A few days after that, one Pendergrass, an Irish officer, came to the Earl of Portland, and discovered all that he knew of the matter; he freely told him his own name, but would not name any of the conspirators. De la Rue, a Frenchman, came also to Brigadier Levison, and discovered to him all that he knew. These two (Pendergrass and De la Rue) were brought to the King apart, not knowing of one another's discovery. They gave an account of two plots then on foot—the one for assassinating the King, and the other for invading the kingdom. The King was not easily brought to give credit to this till a variety of circumstances, in which the discoveries agreed, convinced him of the truth of the whole design.

It has been already told in how many projects King James was engaged for assassinating the King. But all these had failed; so now one was laid that gave better hopes, and looked more like a military action than a foul murder. Sir George Barclay, a Scotchman, received a commission from King James to go and attack the Prince of Orange in his winter quarters. Charnock, Sir William Parkyns, Captain Porter, and De la Rue were the men to whose conduct the matter was trusted. The Duke of Berwick came over, and had some discourse with them about the method of executing it. Forty persons were thought necessary for the attempt. They intended to watch the King as he should go out to hunt, or come back from it in his coach; some of them were to engage the guards, while others should attack the King, and either carry him off a prisoner, or, in case of any resistance, kill him. This soft manner was proposed to draw military men to act in it as a warlike exploit. Porter and Knightly went and viewed the grounds, and the way through which the King passed as he went between Kensington and Richmond Park, where he used to hunt commonly on Saturdays; and they pitched on two places where they thought they might well execute the design. King James sent over some of his guards to assist in it; he spoke himself to one Harris, to go over and to obey such orders as he should receive from Barclay. He ordered money to be given him, and told him that, if he was forced to stay long at Calais, the president there would have orders to furnish him.

De la Rue told all particulars with the greatest frankness, and named all the persons that they had intended to engage in the execution of it; for several lists were among them, and those who concerted the matter had those lists given them, and took it for granted that every man named in those lists was engaged, since they were persons on whom they depended, as knowing their inclinations, and believing that they would readily enter into the project, though it had not been at that time proposed to many of them, as it appeared afterwards. The design was laid to strike the blow on the 15th of February, in a lane that turns down from Turnham Green to Brentford; and the conspirators were to be scattered about the green, in taverns and alehouses, and to be brought together upon a signal given.

The King ordered the coaches and guards to be made ready next morning, being the 15th of February, and a Saturday, his usual day of hunting; but some accident was pretended to cover his not going abroad that day. The conspirators continued to meet together, not doubting but that they should have occasion to execute their design the next Saturday; they had some always about Kensington, who came and went continually, and brought them an account of everything that passed there. On Saturday, the 22nd of February, they put themselves in readiness, and were going out to take the posts assigned them; but were surprised when they had notice that the King's hunting was put off a second time. They apprehended they might be discovered; yet, as none were seized, they soon quieted themselves. Next night a great many of them were taken in their beds, and the day following the whole discovery was laid before the Privy Council.

After most of the conspirators were taken, and all examinations were over, some of them were brought to their trials. Charnock, King, and Keys were begun with. The design was fully proved against them. At his death Charnock delivered a paper, in which he confessed he was engaged in a design to attack the Prince of Orange's guards; but he thought himself bound to clear King James from having given any commission to assassinate him. King's paper, who suffered with him, was to the same purpose; and they took pains to clear all those of their religion from any accession to it. King expressed a sense of the unlawfulness of the undertaking, but Charnock seemed fully satisfied with the lawfulness of it. Keys was a poor ignorant trumpeter, who had his dependence on Porter, and now suffered chiefly upon his evidence, for which he was much reflected on.

Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkyns were tried next. The first of these had risen from mean beginnings to great credit and much wealth. He was employed by King James, and had all this while stuck firm to his interests. His purse was more considered than his head, and was open on all occasions as the party applied to him. While Parkyns was formerly in the Tower, upon information of an assassination of the King designed by him, he furnished the money that corrupted his keepers, and helped him to make his escape out of the Tower. He knew of the assassination, though he was not to be an actor in it; but he had a commission for raising a regiment for King James, and he had entertained and paid the officers who were to serve under him. He had also joined with those who had sent over Charnock in May, 1695, with the message to King James mentioned in the account of the former year; it appearing now that they had then desired an invasion with eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, and had promised to join these with two thousand horse upon their landing. In this the Earl of Aylesbury, the Lord Montgomery, son to the Marquis of Powys, and Sir John Fenwick were also concerned. Upon all this evidence Friend was condemned, and the Earl of Aylesbury was committed prisoner to the Tower.

In the beginning of April Friend and Parkyns were executed together. Three other conspirators, Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranborn, were tried next. The first two were Papists. They expressed their dislike of the design, but insisted on this—that as military men they were bound to obey all military orders; and they thought that the King, who knew the laws of war, ought to have a regard to this, and to forgive them. Cranborn called himself a Protestant, but was more sullen than the other two, to such a degree of fury and perverseness had the Jacobites wrought up their party. Knightly was tried next. He confessed all; and upon that, though he was condemned, he had a reprieve, and was afterwards pardoned. These were all the trials and executions that even this black conspiracy drew from the Government; for the King's inclinations were so merciful, that he seemed uneasy even under these acts of necessary justice.

Cook was brought next upon his trial on account of the intended invasion, for he was not charged with the assassination. His trial was considered as introductory to the Earl of

Aylesbury's, for the evidence was the same as to both. Porter and Goodman were two witnesses against him. They had been with him at a meeting in a tavern in Leadenhall Street, where Charnock received instructions to go to France with the message formerly mentioned. The evidence was believed, and Cook was found guilty and condemned. He obtained many short reprieves upon assurances that he would tell all he knew; but it was visible he did not deal sincerely. His punishment ended in banishment. Sir John Fenwick was taken not long after, going over to France, and was ordered to prepare for his trial, upon which he seemed willing to discover all he knew; and in this he went off and on, for he had no mind to die, and hoped to save himself by some practice or other. Several days were set for his trial, and he procured new delays by making some new discoveries. At last, when he saw that slight and general ones would not serve his turn, he sent for the Duke of Devonshire, and wrote a paper as a discovery, which he gave him to be sent to the King; and that Duke, affirming to the Lords Justices that it was not fit that paper should be seen by any before the King saw it, the matter was suffered to rest for this time.

The great business of this session that held longest in both Houses was a bill relating to Sir John Fenwick. The thing was of so particular a nature that it deserves to be related in a special manner; and the great share that I bore in the debate when it was in the House of Lords makes it more necessary for me copiously to enlarge upon it, for it may at first view seem very liable to exception that a man of my profession should enter so far into a debate of that nature. Fenwick, when he was taken, wrote a letter to his lady, setting forth his misfortune, and giving himself for dead unless powerful applications could be made for him, or that some of the jury could be hired to starve out the rest; and to that he added, "This, or nothing, can save my life." This letter was taken from the person to whom he had given it. At his first examination before the Lords Justices he denied everything till he was shown this letter, and then he was confounded. In his private treaty with the Duke of Devonshire he desired an assurance of life upon his promise to tell all he knew; but the King refused that, and would have it left to himself to judge of the truth and the importance of the discoveries he should make; so he, resolving to cast himself on the King's mercy, sent him a paper, in which, after a bare account of the consultations among the Jacobites (in which he took care to charge none of his own party), he said that King James and those who were employed by him had assured them that both the Earls of Shrewsbury and Marlborough, the Lord Godolphin and Admiral Russell, were reconciled to him, and were now in his interests and acting for him. This was a discovery that could signify nothing but to give the King a jealousy of those persons; for he did not offer the least shadow or circumstance, either of proof or of presumption, to support this accusation. The King, not being satisfied herewith, sent an order for bringing him to trial, unless he made fuller discoveries. He desired to be further examined by the Lords Justices, to whom he, being upon oath, told some more particulars; but he took care to name none of his own side but those against whom evidence was already brought, or who were safe and beyond sea. Some few others he named, who were in matters of less consequence that did not amount to high treason; he owned a thread of negotiations that had passed between them and King James, or the Court of France; he said the Earl of Aylesbury had gone over to France, and had been admitted to a private audience of the French King, where he had proposed the sending over an army of thirty thousand men, and had undertaken that a great body of gentlemen and horses should be brought to join them. It appeared, by his discoveries, that the Jacobites in England were much divided; some were called Compounders, and others Non-compounders. The first sort desired securities from King James for the preservation of the religion and liberties of England; whereas the second sort were for trusting him upon discretion without asking any terms, putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generosity. These seemed, indeed, to act more suitably to the great principle upon which they all insisted—that kings have their power from God, and are accountable only to Him for the exercise of it. Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, was the only eminent clergyman that went into this; and therefore all that party had, upon Sancroft's death, recommended him to King James to have his nomination for Canterbury.

Fenwick put all this in writing, upon assurance that he should not be forced to witness any part of it. When that was sent to the King, all appearing to be so trifling, and no other proof being offered for any part of it except his own word, which he had stipulated should not be made use of, his Majesty sent an order to bring him to his trial; but as the King was slow in sending this order, so the Duke o Devonshire, who had been in the secret management of the matter, was for some time in the country. The Lords Justice delayed the matter till he came to town; and then the King's coming was so near, that it was respited till he came over. By these delays Fenwick gained his main design, which was to practise upon the witnesses. Witnesses might conspire to swear a falsehood, but in this case the circumstances took away the possibility of a doubt; and therefore the Parliament, without taking any notice of Goodman's evidence, might well judge Fenwick guilty, for no man could doubt of it in his own mind.

Fenwick, seeing no hope was left, prepared himself to die. He desired the assistance of one of the deprived bishops, which was not easily granted; but in that, and in several other matters, I did him such service that he wrote me a letter of thanks upon it. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, and died very composed, in a much better temper than was to be expected, for his life had been very irregular. At the place of his execution he delivered a paper in writing, wherein he did not deny the facts that had been sworn against him, but complained of the injustice of the procedure, and left his thanks to those who had voted against the bill. He owned his loyalty to King James, and to the Prince of Wales after him; but mentioned the design of assassinating King William in terms full of horror.

The negotiation for a peace was held at Ryswick, a house of the King's, between the Hague and Delft. The chief of our plenipotentiaries was the Earl of Pembroke, a man of eminent virtue, and of great and profound learning, particularly in the mathematics. This made him a little too speculative and abstracted in his notions. He had a great application; but he lived a little too much out of the world, though in a public station: a little more practice among men would have given him the last finishing. There was somewhat in his person and manner that created him a universal respect; for we had no man among us whom all sides loved and honoured so much as they did him. There were two others joined with him in that embassy.

The King by this peace concluded the great design of putting a stop to the progress of the French arms, which he had constantly pursued from his first appearance on the stage in the year 1672. There was not one of the allies who complained that he had been forgotten by him, or wronged in the treaty; nor had the desire of having his title universally acknowledged raised any impatience in him, or made him run into this peace with any indecent haste. The terms of it were still too much to the advantage of France; but the length and charge of the war had so exhausted the allies that the King saw the necessity of accepting the best conditions that could be got. The French got, indeed, nothing by a war which they had most perfidiously begun; they were forced to return to the peace of Nimeguen; Pignerol and Brisach, which Cardinal Richelieu had considered as the keys of Italy and Germany, were now parted with, and all that base practice of claiming so much under the head of reunions and dependencies was abandoned: the duchy of Lorraine was also entirely restored. It was generally thought that the King of France intended to live out the rest of his days in quiet; for his parting with Barcelona made all people conclude that he did not intend to prosecute the Dauphin's pretensions upon the crown of Spain, after that king's death, by a new war, and that he would only try how to manage it by negotiation.

The King came over to England about the middle of November, and was received by the city of London in a sort of triumph, with all the magnificence that he would admit. The King ordered many of his troops to be disbanded soon after the peace; but a stop was put to that, because the French were very slow in evacuating the places that were to be restored by the treaty, and were not beginning to reduce their troops; so, though the King declared what he intended to do, yet he made no haste to execute it till it should appear how the French intended to govern themselves. The King thought it was absolutely necessary to keep up a considerable land force: he knew the French would still maintain great armies, and that the pretended Prince of Wales would certainly be assisted by them if England should fall into a feeble and defenceless condition.

Papers were written on both sides for and against a standing force. On the one hand, it was pretended that a standing army was incompatible with public liberty, and, according to the examples of former times, the one must swallow up the other. It was proposed that the militia might be better modelled and more trained, which, with a good naval force, some thought would be an effectual security against foreign invasions, as well as it would maintain our laws and liberties at home. On the other side it was urged that, since all our neighbours were armed, and the most formidable of them all kept up such a mighty force, nothing could give us a real security but a good body of regular troops; nothing could be made of the militia, chiefly of the horse, but at a vast charge; and if it was well regulated and well commanded, it would prove a mighty army; but this of the militia was only talked of to put by the other, for no project was ever proposed to render it more useful. A force at sea might be so shattered, while the enemy kept within their ports (as it actually happened at the Revolution), that this strength might come to be useless when we should need it most; so that, without a considerable land force, it seemed the nation would be too much exposed. The words "standing army" had an odious sound in English ears, so the popularity lay on the other side; and the King's ministers suffered generally in the good characters they had hitherto maintained, because they studied to stop the tide that ran so strong the other way.

The King, before his leaving England in July, settled a household about the Duke of Gloucester; the Earl of Marlborough, who was restored to favour was made his governor; and I was named by the King to be his preceptor. I used all possible endeavours to excuse myself. I had hitherto no share in the Princess's favour or confidence. I was also become uneasy at some things in the King's conduct. I considered him as a glorious instrument raised up by God who had done great things by him. I had also such obligations to him, that I had resolved, on public as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any opposition to him; and yet I could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did, and that he was giving his enemies handles to weaken his government. I had tried, but with little success, to use all due freedom with him. He did not love to be found fault with; and though he bore everything that I said very gently, yet he either discouraged me with silence, or answered in such general expressions that they signified little or nothing. These considerations disposed me rather to retire from the Court and town than to engage deeper in such a constant attendance for so many years as this employment might run out to. The King made it, indeed, easy in one respect; for, as the young Prince was to be all the summer at Windsor, which was in my diocese, so he allowed me ten weeks in the year for the other parts of my diocese. All my endeavours to decline this were without effect; the King would trust that care only to me, and the Princess gave me such encouragement that I resolved not only to submit to this, which seemed to come from a direction of Providence, but to give myself wholly up to it.

The Parliament of England had now sat its period of three years, in which great things had been done. The whole money of England was re-coined; the King was secured in his government; an honourable peace was made; public credit was restored; and the payment of public debts was put on sure and good funds. The chief conduct now lay in a few hands. The Lord Somers was made a baron of England; and as he was one of the ablest and the most incorrupt judges that ever sat in Chancery, so his great capacity for all affairs made the King consider him beyond all his ministers, and he well deserved the confidence that the King expressed for him on all occasions. In the House of Commons, Mr. Montague had gained such a visible ascendant over all that were zealous for the King's service, that he gave the law to the rest, which he did always with great spirit, but sometimes with too assuming an air. The fleet was in the Earl of Oxford's management, who was both Treasurer of the Navy and at the head of the Admiralty. He had brought many into the service who were very zealous for the Government; but a spirit of impiety and dissolution ran through too many of them, so that those who intended to cast a load upon the Government had too great advantages given by some of these. There was a new Parliament called, and the elections fell generally on men who were in the interests of the Government; many of them had, indeed, some popular notions, which they had drunk in under a bad government, and thought they ought to keep them under a good one; so that those who wished well to the public apprehended great difficulties in managing them. The King himself did not seem to lay this to heart so much as was fitting. He stayed long beyond sea: he had made a visit to the Duke of Zell, where he was treated in a most magnificent manner. Cross winds hindered his coming to England so soon as he intended, upon which the Parliament was prorogued for some weeks after the members were come up. Even this soured their spirits, and had too great a share in the ill-humour that appeared among them.

About this time the King set up a new favourite. Keppel, a gentleman of Guelders, was raised from being a page into the highest degree of favour that any person had ever attained about the King. He was now made Earl of Albemarle, and soon after Knight of the Garter; and, by a quick and unaccountable progress, he seemed to have engrossed the royal favour so entirely, that he disposed of everything that was in the King's power. He was a cheerful young man, who had the heart to please, but was so much given up to his own pleasures that he could scarcely submit to the attendance and drudgery that were necessary to maintain his post. He never had yet distinguished himself in anything, though the King did it in everything. He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of Portland was thought to be, who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend; but the Earl of Albemarle had all the arts of a court, was civil to all, and procured many favours.

I published this year an "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion." It seemed a work much wanted, and it was justly to be wondered at that none of our divines had attempted any such performance in a way suitable to the dignity of the subject; for some slight analyses of them are not worth either mentioning or reading. It was a work that required study and labour, and laid a man open to many malicious attacks. This made some of my friends advise me against publishing it. In compliance with them I kept it five years by me after I had finished it; but I was now prevailed on by the Archbishop and many of my own order, besides a great many others, to delay the publishing it no longer. It seemed a proper addition to the "History of the Reformation," to explain and prove the doctrine which was then established. I was moved first by the late Queen, and pressed by the late Archbishop to write it. I can appeal to the Searcher of all hearts that I wrote it with great sincerity and a good intention, and with all the application and care I was capable of.

Some pirates had got together in the Indian seas, and robbed some of the Mogul's ships, in particular one that he was sending with presents to Mecca: most of them were English. The East India Company having represented the danger of the Mogul's taking reprisals of them for these losses, it appeared that there was a necessity of destroying these pirates, who were harbouring themselves in some creeks in Madagascar; so a man-of-war was to be sent out to destroy them, and one Kidd was pitched upon, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the service. When this Kidd was thus set out, he turned pirate himself; so a heavy load was cast on the ministry, chiefly on him who was at the head of the justice of the nation. It was said he ought not to have engaged in such a project; and it was maliciously insinuated that the privateer turned pirate in confidence of the protection of those who employed him, if he had not secret orders from them for what he did.

The great business of this session was the report brought from Ireland by four of the seven Commissioners that were sent by Parliament to examine into the confiscations and the grants made of them. The Commissioners who had been sent to inquire concerning the grants of the Irish forfeited estates were the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Richard Leving, Sir Francis Brewster, Mr. Annesley, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Langford. The first three were Whigs, and had refused to sign the report; the others were zealous Tories. There is no doubt that a large portion of the forfeitures had been given to the King's Dutch supporters, and a large part of the ex-King's estates had been bestowed upon William's mistress. This was ill-judged, and offensive to the nation. The debates upon the Bill of Resumption were violent and lengthy in both Houses, and it was not until the King directed his friends not to persist in their opposition that it was passed in the House of Lords. When he gave the royal assent to it, and put an end to the session in April, with becoming dignity he did not accompany the dismissal with the usual speech.

The sudden death of our young Prince at home brought a great change on the face of affairs. I had been trusted with his education now for two years, and he had made an amazing progress. His birthday was the 24th of July, and he was then eleven years old. He complained a little the next day, but we imputed that to the fatigues of a birthday; so that he was too much neglected. The day after he grew much worse, and it proved to be a malignant fever. He died the fourth day of his illness, to the great grief of all who were concerned in him. He was the only remaining child of seventeen that the Princess had borne, some to the full time, and the rest before it. She attended on him during his sickness with great tenderness, but with a grave composedness that amazed all who saw it. She bore his death with a resignation and piety that were indeed very singular. His death gave a great alarm to the whole nation; the Jacobites grew insolent upon it, and said, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of

Wales's succession. Soon after this, the House of Brunswick returned the visit that the King had made them last year, and the eyes of all the Protestants in the nation turned towards the Electoress of Brunswick, who was daughter to the Queen of Bohemia, and was the next Protestant heir, all Papists being already excluded from the succession. Thus, of the four lives that we had in view as our chief security, the two that we depended most on, the Queen and the Duke of Gloucester, were carried off on the sudden before we were aware of it; and of the two that remained (the King and the Princess), as there was no issue, and little hopes of any by either of them, so the King, who at best was a man of a feeble constitution, was now falling under an ill habit of body. His legs were much swelled, which some thought was the beginning of a dropsy, while others thought it was only a scorbutic distemper.

And now I am come to the end of this century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene. France was now in possession of a great empire, for a small part of which they had been in wars (broken off, indeed, in some intervals) for above two hundred years; while we in England, who were to protect and defend the rest, were, by wretched factions and violent animosities, running into a feeble and disjointed state. The King's cold and reserved manner upon so high a provocation made some conclude that he was in secret engagements with France; that he was resolved to own the new King of Spain, and not to engage in a new war. This seemed so different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his life, that it made many conclude that he found himself in an ill state of health, the swelling of his legs being much increased, and that this might have such effects on his mind as to make him less warm and active, less disposed to involve himself in new troubles; and that he might think it too inconsiderate a thing to enter on a new war that was not likely to end soon, when he felt himself in a declining state of health; but the true secret of this unaccountable behaviour in the King was soon discovered.

We were in full peace; and it was commonly said that nobody thought any more of King James, and therefore it was fit, for the King's service, to encourage all his people to come into his interests by letting them see how soon he could forget all that was past. These considerations had so far prevailed with him, that before he went out of England he had engaged himself secretly to them. It is true the death, first of the Duke of

Gloucester, and now of the King of Spain, had very much changed the face of affairs both at home and abroad; yet the King would not break off from his engagements.

Soon after his return to England, the Earl of Rochester was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and he had the chief direction of affairs. And that the most eminent man of the Whigs might not oppose them in the new Parliament, they got Mr. Montague to be made a baron, who took the title of Halifax, which was sunk by the death of that marquis without issue male. The man on whose management of the House of Commons this new set depended was Mr. Harley, the heir of a family which had been hitherto the most eminent of the Presbyterian party. His education was in that way; but he, not being considered at the Revolution as he thought he deserved, had set himself to oppose the Court in everything, and to find fault with the whole Administration. He had the chief hand both in the reduction of the army and in the matter of the Irish grants. The high party trusted him, though he still kept up an interest among the Presbyterians; and he had so particular a dexterity, that he made both the High Church party and the Dissenters depend upon him; so it was agreed that he should be Speaker.

The new King of Spain wrote to all the Courts of Europe, giving notice of his accession to that crown, only he forgot England; and it was publicly given out that he had promised the pretended Prince of Wales that in due time he would take care of his interests. The King and the States were much alarmed when they beheld the French possessed of the Spanish Netherlands. A great part of the Dutch army lay scattered up and down in those garrisons, more particularly in Luxemburg, Namur, and Mons; and these were now made prisoners of war. Neither officers nor soldiers could own the King of Spain, for their masters had not yet done it. At this time the French pressed the States very hard to declare themselves. A great party in the States were for owning him, at least in form, till they could get their troops again into their own hands, according to capitulation; nor were they then in a condition to resist the impression that might have been made upon them from the garrisons in the Spanish Guelders, which could have attacked them before they were able to make head; so the States consented to own the King of Spain. That being done, their battalions were sent back; but they were ill-used, contrary to capitulation, and the soldiers were tempted to desert their service, yet very few could be prevailed on do it.

On the 1st of April the House of Commons brought u general impeachment of the Earl of Portland for high cri and misdemeanours; but the chief design was against the of Orford and the Lords Somers and Halifax. Their enem tried again what use could be made of Kidd's business, for was taken in our northern plantations in America, and brou over. He was examined by the House, but either he co not lay a probable story together, or some remnants of hones raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him; accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turn pirate; he had never talked alone with any of the lords, a never at all with Lord Somers. He said he had no ord from them but to pursue his voyage against the pirates Madagascar. All endeavours were used to persuade him accuse the lords; he was assured that, if he did it, he shou be preserved, and if he did it not, he should certainly die his piracy. Yet this could not prevail on him to charge ther so he, with some of his crew, was hanged, there appearing n so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on those lord yet their enemies tried what use could be made of the grant all that Kidd might recover from the pirates, which some bo and ignorant lawyers affirmed to be against law.

The Commons were very sensible that those impeachmen must come to nothing, and that they had not a majority in th House of Lords to judge in them as they should direct; so the resolved on a shorter way to fix a severe censure on the lord whom they had thus impeached. They voted an address the King for excluding them from his presence and counci for ever. This had never gone along with an impeachme before. The House of Commons had, indeed, begun such practice in King Charles II.'s time. When they disliked minister, but had not matter to ground an impeachmen on, they had taken this method of making an address agains him; but it was a new attempt to come with an address afte an impeachment. This was punishing before trial, contrary to an indispensable rule of justice, of not judging before the partie were heard. The Lords saw that this made their judicatur ridiculous, when, in the first instance of an accusation, application was made to the King for a censure, and a very sever one, since few misdemeanours could deserve a harder sentence. Upon these grounds the Lords prevented the Commons, and sent some of their body to the King with an address, praying him that he would not proceed to any censure of these lords till they had undergone their trial. The King received these addresses, so contrary one to another, from both Houses, but made no answer to either of them, unless the letting the names of these lords continue still in the Council books might be taken as a refusing to grant what the Commons had desired.

While this was in agitation, a letter came to the King from the King of Spain, giving notice of his accession to that crown. It was dated the day after he entered into Spain, but the date and the letter were visibly written at different times. The King ordered the letter to be read in the Cabinet Council; there was some short debate concerning it, but it was never brought into any further deliberation there.

While all these things were in a ferment, the declaring a Protestant successor, after the Princess and such issue as she might have, seemed to be forgotten by our Parliament, though the King had begun his speech with it. The manner in which this motion of the succession was managed did not carry in it great marks of sincerity; it was often put off from one day to another, and it gave place to the most trifling matters. At last, when a day was solemnly set for it, and all people expected that it would pass without any difficulty, Harley moved that some things previous to that might be first considered. Yet in conclusion it passed, and was sent up to the Lords, where we expected great opposition would be made to it. Some imagined the act was only an artifice designed to gain credit to those who, at this time, were so ill thought of over the nation that they wanted some colourable thing to excuse their other proceedings. Many of the Lords absented themselves on design. Some little opposition was made by the Marquis of Normanby; and four lords—the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guildford and Jefferies—protested against it. Those who wished well to the act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it; they thought it of great importance to carry the act, and that at another time those limitations might be better considered; so the act passed, and the King sent it over by the Earl of Macclesfield to the Electoress, together with the Garter to the Elector. We reckoned it a great point carried that we had now a law on our side for a Protestant successor; for we plainly saw a great party formed against it in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales. He was now past thirteen, bre up with a hatred both of our religion and our constitution, an admiration of the French Government; and yet many wh called themselves Protestants seemed fond of such a success —a degree of infatuation that might justly amaze all wh observed it, and saw the fury with which it was promoted.

The impeachments lay long neglected in the House Commons, and probably they would have been let sleep if th lords concerned had not moved for a trial. On their motio messages were sent to the Commons to quicken their proceedings. At last articles were framed and brought up, fir against the Earl of Orford. He was charged with taking grea grants from the King. Kidd's business was objected to him He was also charged with abuses in managing the fleet, an victualling it, when it lay on the coast of Spain, and for som orders he had given during his command; and, in conclusio with advising the Spanish Partition Treaty. In setting thi out, the Commons urged that the King, by the alliance mad with the Emperor in the year 1689, was bound to maintain hi succession to the crown of Spain, which they said was still in force. So the Partition Treaty was a breach of faith contra to that alliance, and this passed current in the House o Commons, without any debate or inquiry into it; for every thing was acceptable there that loaded that treaty and thes lords. But they did not consider that by this they declare they thought the King was bound to maintain the Emperor' right to that succession; yet this was not intended by thos who managed the party, who had not hitherto given any countenance to the Emperor's pretensions. So apt are partie to make use of anything that may serve a turn withou considering the consequences of it.

A day being set for the Lord Somer's trial, it was put off for some time. At last a peremptory day was fixed for it; but the Commons refused to appear, and said they were the only judges when they were ready with their evidence, and that it was a mockery to go to a trial when they were not ready to appear at it. When the day set for the trial came, the other lords who were also impeached asked the leave of the House to withdraw, and not to sit and vote in it. This was granted them, though it was much opposed and protested against by the Tory party, because the giving such leave supposed that they had a right to vote. The Lords went down in form to Westminster Hall, where the articles against the Lord Somers were first read. Lord Somers's answers were next read; and none appearing to make good the charge, the Lords came back to their House, where they had a long and warm debate of many hours. The Lords then went again to the Hall; and the question being put, "Whether he ought to be acquitted of the impeachment?" fifty-six voted in the affirmative, and thirty-one in the negative.

A few days after this the Earl of Orford's trial came on, but, all the lords of the other side withdrawing, there was no dispute; so he was acquitted by a unanimous vote. The Lords also acquitted both the Earl of Portland and the Lord Halifax; and because the Commons had never insisted on their prosecution of the Duke of Leeds, which they had begun some years before, they likewise acquitted him, and so this contentious session came to an end.

I am now come to the last period of the life of the unfortunate King James. He had led for above ten years a very inactive life in France. In the beginning of September he fell into such fits that it was concluded he could not live many days. The King of France came to see him, and seemed to be much touched with the sight. He, with some difficulty, recommended his Queen and son to his care and protection. The French King answered, he would reckon their concerns as his own; and when he left him, he promised those of his Court that he would, upon King James's death, own the Prince of Wales as King of England, and that he would take care of them all. King James died on the 16th of September.

All this summer the King continued at Loo, in a very ill state of health. New methods gave some relief; but when he came to the Hague, on his way to England, he was for some time in so bad a condition that they were in great fear of his life. He recovered, and came over in the beginning of November.

The first thing that fell under debate upon his return was, whether the Parliament should be continued or dissolved, and a new one called. The new ministry struggled hard against a dissolution, and when they saw the King resolved on it, some of them left his service. This was thought so critical a conjuncture, that both sides exerted their full strength. Most of the great counties and the chief cities chose men that were zealous for the King and Government, but the rotten part of our constitution, the small boroughs, were in many places wrought on to choose bad men. Upon the whole, however, it appeared that a clear majority was in the King's interests, yet the activity of the angry side was such that they had a majority in choosing the Speaker, and in determining controverted elections; but in matters of public concern things went on as the King desired, and as the interest of the nation required.

And now I am arrived at the fatal period of this reign. The King seemed all this winter in a very fair way of recovery. He had made the royal apartments in Hampton Court very noble, and he was so much pleased with the place that he went thither once a week, and rode often about the park. In the end of February the horse he rode on stumbled, and he, being then very feeble, fell off and broke his collar-bone. He seemed to have no other hurt by it, and his strength was then so much impaired that it was not thought necessary to let him bleed, no symptom appearing that required it. The bone was well set, and it was thought there was no danger; so he was brought to Kensington that night. He himself had apprehended all this winter that he was sinking. He said to the Earl of Portland, both before and after this accident, that he was a dead man. It was not in his legs, nor now in his collar-bone, that he felt himself ill; but all was decayed within, so that he believed he should not be able to go through the fatigue of another campaign. During his illness he sent a message to the two Houses, recommending the Union of both kingdoms to them.

On the 3rd of March the King had a short fit of an ague, which he regarded so little that he said nothing of it. It returned on him next day. I happened to be then near him, and observed such a visible alteration as gave me a very ill opinion of his condition. After that he kept his chamber till Friday. Every day it was given out that his fits abated. On Friday things had so melancholy a face that his being dangerously ill was no longer concealed. There was now such a difficulty of breathing, and his pulse was so sunk, that the alarm was given out everywhere. He had sent the Earl of Albemarle over to Holland to put things in readiness for an early campaign; and he came back on the 7th of March, in the morning, with so good an account of everything, that, if matters of that kind could have wrought on the King, it must have revived him; but the coldness with which he received it showed how little hopes were left. Soon after he said, "Je tire vers ma fin" (I draw towards my end). The Act of Abjuration and the Money Bill were now prepared for the royal assent; the Council ordered all things to be in readiness for the passing of those bills by a Special Commission, which, according to form, must be signed by the King, in the presence of the Lord Keeper and the clerks of the Parliament. They came to the King when his fit began, and stayed some hours before they were admitted. Some in the House of Commons moved for an adjournment, though the Lords had sent to them not to adjourn for some time. By this means they hoped the Bill of Abjuration should be lost; but it was contrary to all rules to adjourn when such a message was sent them by the Lords; so they waited till the King had signed the Commission and the bills, and thus those acts passed in the last day of the King's life.

The King's strength and pulse were still sinking as the difficulty of breathing increased, so that no hope was left. The Archbishop of Canterbury and I went to him on Saturday morning, and did not stir from him till he died. Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began, the commendatory prayer was said for him, and as it ended he died, on Sunday, the 8th of March, 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days.

BOOK VII

OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

By the death of King William, pursuant to the act that had settled the succession of the crown, it devolved on Anne, the youngest daughter of King James by his first marriage. She was then entered on the thirty-eighth year of her age. Upon the King's death, the Privy Council came in a body to wait on the new Queen. She received them with a well-considered speech. She expressed great respect to the memory of the late King, in whose steps she intended to go for preserving both Church and State, in opposition to the growing power of France, and for maintaining the succession in the Protestant line. She pronounced this, as she did all her other speeches, with great weight and authority, and with a softness of voice, and sweetness in the pronunciation that added much life to all she spoke. These her first expressions were heard with great and just acknowledgments. Both Houses of Parliament met that day, and made addresses to her full of respect and duty. She answered both very favourably, and she received all that came to her in so gracious a manner that they went from her highly satisfied with her goodness and her obliging deportment; for she hearkened with attention to everything that was said to her. Two days after she went to the Parliament, which, to the great happiness of the nation, and to the advantage of her government, was now continued to sit, notwithstanding the King's demise, by the act that was made five years before, upon the discovery of the assassination plot. In her speech she repeated, but more copiously, what she had said to the Council upon her first accession to the throne.

The coronation was on the 23rd of April, on St. George's day. It was performed with the usual magnificence. The Archbishop of York (Dr. Sharp) preached a good and wise sermon on the occasion. The Queen immediately after that gave orders for naming the Electoress of Brunswick, in the collect for the royal family, as the next heir of the crown, and she formed a ministry.

The Lord Godolphin was made Lord Treasurer. This was very uneasy to himself, for he resisted the motion long; but the Earl of Marlborough pressed it in so positive a manner, that he said he could not go beyond sea to command our armies unless the Treasury was put in his hands; for then he was sure that remittances would be punctually made him. He was declared Captain-General, and Prince George, the Queen's husband, had the title of Generalissimo of all the Queen's Forces by Sea and Land. The Prince was also made Lord High Admiral, which he was to govern by a council. The legality of this was much questioned, for it was a new court, which could not be authorised to act but by an Act of Parliament; yet the respect paid the Queen made that no public question was made of this, so that objections to it never went beyond a secret murmur. The Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were made Secretaries of State. The Tories would trust none but the Earl of Nottingham, and he would serve with none but Hedges. The maxim laid down at Court was to put the direction of affairs in the hands of the Tories. The Earl of Marlborough assured me this was done, upon the promises they made to carry on the war, and to maintain the alliances. If they kept these, then affairs would go on smoothly in the House of Commons; but if they failed in this, the Queen would put her business in other hands, which at that time few could believe. The Marquis of Normanby was, to the admiration of all men, made Lord Privy Seal, and soon after Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Abingdon, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Seymour, Musgrave, Granville, Howe, Luçon (Levison), Gower, Harcourt, with several others who had, during the last reign, expressed the most violent and unrelenting aversion to the whole Administration, were now brought to the Council-board, and put in good posts.

The Queen, in her first speech to her Parliament, had renewed the motion made by the late King for the Union of both kingdoms. Many of those who seemed now to have the greatest share of her favour and confidence opposed it with much heat, and not without indecent reflections on the Scotch nation; yet it was carried by a great majority that the Queen should be empowered to name Commissioners for treating of a Union. It was so visibly the interest of England, and of the present Government, to shut that back-door against the practices of France and the attempts of the pretended Prince of Wales, that the opposition made to this first step towards a Union, and the indecent scorn with which Seymour and others treated the Scots, were clear indications that the posts they were brought into had not changed their tempers; but that, instead of healing matters, they intended to irritate them further by their reproachful speeches. The bill went through both Houses, notwithstanding the rough treatment it met with at first.

The affairs of Scotland began to be somewhat embroiled. By an act made soon after the Revolution, it was provided that all princes succeeding to the crown should take the coronation oath before they entered upon their regal dignity; but no direction was given concerning those who should tender it, or the manner in which it should be taken. So this being left undetermined, the Queen called together all the late King's ministers for that kingdom, and in the presence of about twelve of them she took the coronation oath. Men who were disposed to censure everything said that this ought not to be done but in the presence of some deputed for that effect either by the Parliament, or at least by the Privy Council of that kingdom.

The Parliament, however, by one act recognised the Queen's title; by another they empowered her to name Commissioners to treat of the Union of the two kingdoms; and by a third they gave a tax sufficient to keep up the force that was then in Scotland for two years longer.

Ireland was put under Lords Justices named by the Earl of Rochester, and the trustees continued still in their former authority.

While our affairs were in this posture at home, all the North of Germany was united, and ready to declare against France. The first step of this war was to be made in the name of the Elector Palatine, in the siege of Kaiserwerth, which, whilst in the enemy's hands, exposed both the circle of Westphalia and the States' dominions; for their places on the Waal, being in no good condition, were laid open to the excursions of that garrison. Negotiations were still carried on in several Courts. Methuen was sent to try the Court of Portugal. He came quickly back, with full assurances of a neutrality and a freedom of trade in their ports. Insinuations were given of a disposition to go further, upon a better prospect and better terms, so he was presently sent back to drive that matter as far as it would go. The Pope pretended he would keep the neutrality of a common father, but his partiality to the French appeared on many occasions; yet the Court of Vienna had that veneration for the see, that they contented themselves with expostulating, without carrying their resentments further. The Venetians and the great Duke followed the example set them by the Pope, though the former did not escape so well, for their country suffered on both hands.

The Prince of Baden drew together the troops of the empire. He began with blocking up Landau, and that was soon turned to a siege. Catinat was sent to command the French army in Alsace, but it was so weak that he was not able to make head with it. In the end of April the Dutch formed three armies: one, under the Prince of Nassau, undertook the siege of Kaiserwerth; another was commanded by the Earl of Athlone, and lay in the duchy of Cleve, to cover the siege; a third, commanded by Cohorn, broke into Flanders, and put a great part of that country under contribution. Marshal Boufflers drew his army together, and having laid up great magazines in Roermond and Venloo, he passed the Maese with his whole army. The Duke of Burgundy came down post from Paris to command it. The States apprehended that so great a prince would at his first appearance undertake somewhat worthy of him, and thought the design might be upon Maestricht; so they put twelve thousand men in garrison there. The auxiliary troops from Germany did not come so soon as was expected, and cross winds stopped a great part of our army, so that the Earl of Athlone was not strong enough to enter into action with Marshal Boufflers, but he lay about Cleve watching his motions. The siege of Kaiserwerth went on slowly; the Rhine, swelling very high, so filled their trenches that they could not work in them. Marshal Tallard was sent to lie on the other side of the Rhine, to cannonade the besiegers, and to send fresh men into the town. The King of Prussia came to Wesel, from whence he furnished the besiegers with all that was necessary. There was one vigorous attack made, in which many were killed on both sides. In conclusion, after a brave defence, the counterscarp was carried, and then the town capitulated, and was razed, according to agreement.

Soon after this the Earl of Marlborough came over and took the command of the army. The Earl of Athlone was set on by the other Dutch generals to insist on his quality of Field Marshal, and to demand the command by turns. He was now in high reputation by his late conduct, but the States obliged him to yield this to the Earl of Marlborough, who, indeed, used him so well that the command seemed to be equal between them. The Earl of Athlone was always inclined to cautious and sure, but feeble, counsels; but the Earl of Marlborough, when the army was brought together, finding his force superior to the Duke of Burgundy, passed the Maese at the Grave, and marched up to the French. They retired as he advanced. This made him for venturing on a decisive action; but the Dutch apprehended the putting things to such a hazard, and would not consent to it. The Pensioner, and those who ordered matters at the Hague, proceeded the more timorously, because, upon the King's death, those who had always opposed him were beginning to form parties in several of their towns, and were designing a change of Government; so that a public misfortune in their conduct would have given great advantages to those who were watching for them. The Pensioner was particularly aimed at. This made him more unwilling to run any risk. Good judges thought that if the Earl of Marlborough's advices had been followed, matters might have been brought to a happy decision, but as he conducted the army prudently, so he was careful not to take too much upon him. The Duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat as the confederate army advanced, thought this was not suitable to his dignity; so he left the army, and ended his first campaign very ingloriously; and it seems the King was not satisfied with Marshal Boufflers, for he never commanded their armies since that time. The Earl of Marlborough went on, taking several places which made little or no resistance; and seeing that Marshal Boufflers kept at a safe distance, so that there was no hope of an engagement with him, he resolved to fall into the Spanish Guelders. He began with Venloo. There was a fort on the other side of the river that commanded it, which was taken by the Lord Cutts in so gallant a manner, that it deserved to be much commended by everybody but himself; but he lost the honour that was due to many brave actions of his by talking too much of them. The young Earl of Huntingdon showed upon this, as upon many other occasions, an extraordinary heat of courage. He called to the soldiers who had got over the palisades to help him over, and promised them all the money he had about him, which he performed very generously, and led them on with much bravery and success. Upon the fort being taken, the town capitulated. Roermond and Stevenswaert were taken in a few days after; for Marshal Boufflers did not come to their relief. Upon these successes, that came quicker than was expected, the Earl of Marlborough advanced to Liege, which was a place of more importance, in which he might put a great part of his army in winter quarters. The town quickly capitulated, the citadel was carried by storm, and another fort in the town likewise surrendered. Here was a very prosperous campaign. Many places were taken with little resistance, and an inconsiderable loss either of time or of men. The Earl of Marlborough's conduct and deportment gained him the hearts of the army. The States were highly satisfied with everything he did, and the Earl of Athlone did him the justice to own that he had differed in opinion from him in everything that was done, and that therefore the honour of their success was wholly owing to him.

Soon after his return to England the Queen made him Duke of Marlborough; and both Houses of Parliament sent some of their number to him with their thanks for the great services he had done this campaign.

I now change the element to give an account of our operations at sea. Rooke had the command. The fleet put to sea much later than we hoped for. The Dutch fleet came over about a month before ours was ready. The whole consisted of fifty ships of the line, and a land army was put on board of twelve thousand men, seven thousand English and five thousand Dutch.

They were for some time stopped by contrary winds, accidents, and pretences, many of which were thought to be strained and sought for; but the wind being turned wholly favourable after some cross winds, which had rendered their passage slow and tedious, they came, on the 12th of August, into the Bay of Cadiz. Rooke had laid no disposition beforehand how to proceed upon his coming thither. Some days were lost on pretence of seeking for intelligence.

The council of war, in which their instructions were read, came to a resolution not to make a descent on the island of Cadiz; for they had met with intelligence there that the Spanish plate fleet, with a good convoy of French men-of-war, had put in at Vigo, a port in Galicia, not far from Portugal, where the entrance was narrow and capable of a good defence. It widened within land into a bay or mouth of a river, where the ships lay very conveniently. He who commanded the French fleet ordered a boom to be laid across the entrance, and forts to be raised on both sides. He had not time to finish what he designed, otherwise the place had been inaccessible; but, as it was, the difficulty in forcing this port was believed to be greater than any they would have met with if they had landed on the isle of Cadiz. As soon as this fleet had put in at Vigo, Methuen, the Queen's minister at Lisbon, sent advertisements of it to all the places where he thought our advice-boats might be ordered to call. Rooke had given no orders for any to call, and so held on his course towards Cape Finisterre. But one of his captains, Hardy, whilst he watered in Algarve, heard the news there, upon which he made all the sail he could after Rooke, and overtook him. Rooke, upon that, turned his course towards Vigo, very unwillingly as was said, and, finding the advice was true, he resolved to force his way in. The Duke of Ormonde landed with a body of the army, and attacked the forts with great bravery, while the ships broke the boom and forced the port. When the French saw what was done, they left their ships, and set some of the men-of-war and some of the galleons on fire. Our men came up with such diligence that they stopped the progress of the fire; yet fifteen men-of-war and eight galleons were burnt or sunk; but our men were in time to save five men-of-war and five galleons, which they took. Here was a great destruction made, and a great booty taken, with very little loss on our side. One of our ships was set on fire by a fire-ship, but she too was saved, though with the loss of some men, which was all the loss we sustained in this important action. The Duke of Ormonde marched into the country and took some forts, and the town of Ritondella, where much plunder was found. The French seamen and soldiers escaped, for we, having no horse, were not in a condition to pursue them. A great deal of the treasure taken at Vigo was embezzled, and fell into private hands. One of the galleons foundered at sea. The public was not much enriched by this extraordinary capture, yet the loss our enemies made by it was a vast one; and, to complete the ruin of the Spanish merchants, their King seized on the plate that was taken out of the ships upon their first arrival at Vigo. Thus the campaign ended—very happily for the allies, and most gloriously for the Queen, whose first year, being such a continued course of success, gave a hopeful presage of what might be hereafter expected.

The session of Parliament comes next to be related.

The House of Commons very unanimously, and with great dispatch, agreed to all the demands of the Court, and voted all the supplies that were necessary for carrying on the war. Upon the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, a new demand for an additional force was made, since the King of France had given out commissions for a great increase of his armies. Upon that the States moved the Queen for ten thousand more men. This was consented to, but it was insisted on that, before the pay of these new troops should begin, the States should prohibit all trade with France, and break off all correspondence with that kingdom.

The Queen sent a message to the Commons, desiring them to make some suitable provision for Prince George, in case he should outlive her. He was many years older than the Queen, and was troubled with an asthma that every year had very ill effects on his health; it had brought him into great danger this winter, yet the Queen thought it became her to provide for all events. Howe moved that it should be £100,000 a year. This was seconded by those who knew how acceptable the motion would be to the Queen, though it was the double of what any Queen in England ever had in jointure; so it passed without any opposition.

At this time the Earl of Rochester quitted his place of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was uneasy at the preference which the Duke of Marlborough had in the Queen's confidence, and at the Lord Godolphin's being Lord Treasurer. The Queen sent a message to him, ordering him to make ready to go to Ireland; for it seemed very strange, especially in a time of war, that a person in so great a post should not attend upon it; but he, after some days advising about it, went to the Queen, and desired to be excused from that employment. This was readily accepted, and upon that he withdrew from the Councils. It was immediately offered to the Duke of Ormonde, and he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The death of his only son, who died at Cambridge of the small-pox, delayed the departure of the Duke of Marlborough; but upon his arrival on the other side the Dutch brought their armies into the field. The Duke speedily took Bonn, Huy, Limburg, and Guelders. It was in this year, on the 27th of November, that the great storm, more violent than any in the memory of man, visited England, doing immense mischief both by sea and land.

During the session of 1704, and on her own birthday, which was the 6th of February, the Queen sent a message to the House of Commons, signifying her purpose to apply that branch of the revenue that was raised out of the first-fruits and tenths paid by the clergy to the increase of all the small benefices in the nation. This branch was an imposition, begun by the Popes in the time of the Holy Wars, and it was raised as a fund to support those expeditions. So this became a standing branch of the Papal revenue, until Henry VIII. seemed resolved to take it away. It was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the clergy to consent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from such heavy impositions; but in the succeeding session of Parliament this revenue was again settled as part of the income of the Crown for ever.

When I wrote the "History of the Reformation," I considered this matter so particularly that I saw here was a proper fund for providing better subsistence to the poor clergy, we having among us some hundreds of cures that have not of certain provision twenty pounds a year, and some thousands that have not fifty. Where the encouragement is so small, what can it be expected clergymen should be? It is a crying scandal that at the restoration of King Charles II., the bishops and other dignitaries, who raised much above a million in fines, yet did so little this way. I had possessed the late Queen with this, so that she was fully resolved, if ever she had lived to see peace and settlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue of all the assignations that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augmentation of small benefices.

Upon the Queen's message, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by charter to apply it to the use for which she now gave it; they added to this a repeal of the Statute of Mortmain, so far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their last wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices.

I turn to give an account of the affairs abroad. The Emperor was reduced to the last extremities; the Elector of Bavaria was master of the Danube all down to Passau; and the malcontents in Hungary were making a formidable progress. The Emperor was not in a condition to maintain a defensive war long on both hands, so that when these should come to act by concert, no opposition could be made to them. Thus his affairs had a very black appearance, and utter ruin was to be apprehended. Vienna would be probably besieged on both sides, and it was not in a condition to make a long defence; so the House of Austria seemed lost. Prince Eugene proposed that the Emperor should implore the Queen's protection. This was agreed to, and Count Wratislaw managed the matter at our Court with great application and secrecy. The Duke of Marlborough saw the necessity of undertaking it, and resolved to try if it was possible to put it in execution. Under the blind of a project for carrying the war to the Moselle, everything was prepared that was necessary for executing the true design. When the Duke went over the second time, that which was proposed in public related only to the motions towards the Moselle; so he drew his army together in May. He marched towards the Moselle, but he went farther; and, after he had gained the advance of some days of the French troops, he wrote to the States from Ladenburg, to let them know that he had the Queen's order to march to the relief of the empire. So he marched with all possible expedition from the Rhine to the Danube, which was a great surprise to the Court of France, as well as to the Elector of Bavaria.

The two armies were now in view one of another. The French were superior to us in foot by about ten thousand; but we had three thousand more horse than they. The post of which they were possessed was capable of being, in a very little time put out of all danger of future attacks; so the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene saw how important it was to lose no time, and resolved to attack them the next morning.

Our men quickly passed the brook, the French making no opposition. This was a fatal error, and was laid wholly to Tallard's charge. The action that followed was for some time very hot; many fell on both sides. Ten battalions of the French stood their ground, but were in a manner mowed down in their ranks. Upon that the horse ran many of them into the Danube. Most of these perished. Tallard himself was taken prisoner. The rest of his troops were posted in the village of Blenheim: these, seeing all lost, and that some bodies were advancing upon them, which seemed to them to be thicker than indeed they were, and apprehending that it was impossible to break through, they did not attempt it, though brave men might have made their way. Instead of that, when our men came up to set fire to the village, the Earl of Orkney first beating a parley, they hearkened to it very easily, and were all made prisoners of war. There were about thirteen hundred officers and twelve thousand common soldiers who laid down their arms and were now in our hands. Thus all Tallard's army was either killed in the action, drowned in the Danube, or become prisoners by capitulation. Things went not so easily on Prince Eugene's side, where the Elector and Marsin commanded. He was repulsed in three attacks, but carried the fourth, and broke in; and so he was master of their camp, cannon, and baggage. The enemy retired in some order, and he pursued them as far as men wearied with an action of about six hours, in an extremely hot day, could go. Thus we gained an entire victory. In this action there were on our side about twelve thousand killed and wounded; but the French and the Elector lost about forty thousand killed, wounded, and taken. The Elector marched with all the haste he could to Ulm, where he left some troops, and then with a small body got to Villeroi's army. Now all Bavaria was at mercy. The Electress received the civilities due to her sex, but she was forced to submit to such terms as were imposed on her. Ingolstadt and all the fortified places in the electorate, with the magazines that were in them, were soon delivered up; Augsburg, Ulm, and Meming quickly recovered their liberty; so now Marlborough, having put a speedy conclusion to the war that was got so far into the bowels of the empire, marched quickly back to the Rhine.

This he executed with that diligence that the French abandoned every place as he advanced with such precipitation that they had not time given them to burn the places they forsook, according to the barbarous method which they had long practised. The Duke got to Trier, and that being a large place, he posted a great part of his army in and about it, and left a sufficient force with the Prince of Hesse for the taking of Traerbach, which held out some weeks, but capitulated at last. Landau was not taken before the middle of November. Thus ended this glorious campaign, in which England and Holland gained a very unusual glory. Prince Eugene, too, had a just share in the honour of this great expedition.

I now turn to the other element, where our affairs were carried on more doubtfully. Rooke fell in upon Gibraltar, where some bold men ventured to go ashore in a place where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks, yet they succeeded in it. When they got up, they saw all the women of the town were come out to a chapel there, to implore the Virgin's protection. They seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the town to surrender. The Prince of Hesse, with the marines that were on board the fleet, possessed himself of the place, and they were furnished out of the stores with everything that was necessary.

In Spain the rival sovereigns were in the midst of intestine war. King Philip V. had obtained some advantages in his invasion of Portugal; and Charles III. had been repulsed by the Duke of Berwick in his attempt upon Castile. The Earl of Peterborough was sent to the aid of the latter, and landed on the coast of Catalonia. Lerida and Tortosa surrendered; Barcelona capitulated; and almost the whole of Valencia and Catalonia then acknowledged King Charles.

But now I come to 1706, and turn to another and a greater scene. The King of France was assured that the King of Denmark would stand upon some high demands he made to the allies, so that the Duke of Marlborough could not have the Danes, who were about ten or twelve thousand, to join him for some time; and that the Prussians, almost as many as the Danes, could not come up to the confederate army for some weeks; so he ordered the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroi to march up to them, and to venture on a battle, since, without the Danes, they would have been much superior in number. The States yielded to all Denmark's demands; and the Prince of Würtemburg, who commanded their troops, being very well affected, reckoned that, all being granted, he needed not stay till he sent to Denmark, nor wait for their express orders, but marched and joined the army the day before the engagement. The French left their baggage and heavy cannon at Jodoigne, and marched up to the Duke of Marlborough. He was marching towards them on the same design; for, if they had not offered him battle on the 12th, he was resolved to have attacked them on the 13th of May. They met near a village called Ramillies (not far from the Mehaigne), from whence the battle takes its name. The engagement was an entire one, and the action was hot for two hours: both the French mousquetaires and the cuirassiers were there. The Elector of Bavaria said it was the best army he ever beheld. But, after two hours, the French gave way everywhere; so it ended in an entire defeat.

At home another matter of great consequence was put in a good and promising method. The Commissioners of both kingdoms sat close in a treaty till about the middle of July. In conclusion, they prepared a complete scheme of an entire Union of both nations, some particulars being only referred to be settled by their Parliaments respectively. When everything was agreed to, they presented one copy of the treaty to the Queen, and each side had a copy, to be presented to their respective Parliament, all three copies being signed by the Commissioners of both kingdoms. It was resolved to lay the matter first before the Parliament of Scotland, because it was apprehended that it would meet with the greatest opposition there. The Union of the two kingdoms was a work of which many had quite despaired, in which number I was one; and those who entertained better hopes, thought it must have run out into a long negotiation for several years; but, beyond all men's expectation, it was begun and finished within the compass of one. The Union was to commence on the 1st of May, and until that time the two kingdoms were still distinct, and their two Parliaments continued still to sit.

On the Upper Rhine the two Electors continued looking on one another without venturing on any action; but the great scene was laid in Flanders. The French princes came to Mons in the spring of 1708, and there they opened the campaign, and advanced to Soignies, with an army of a hundred thousand men. The Duke of Marlborough lay between Enghien and Halle with his army, which was about eighty thousand. The French had their usual practices on foot in several towns in those parts. A conspiracy to deliver Antwerp to them was discovered and prevented. The truth was, the Dutch were severe masters, and the Flandrians could not bear it. Though the French had laid heavier taxes on them, yet they used them better in all other respects. Their bigotry, being wrought on by their priests, disposed them to change masters, so these practices succeeded better in Ghent and Bruges. The Duke of Marlborough resolved not to weaken his army by many garrisons; so he put none at all in Bruges, and a very weak one in the citadel of Ghent, reckoning that there was no danger as long as he lay between those places and the French army. The two armies lay about a month looking on one another, shifting their camps a little, but keeping still in safe ground, so that there was no action all the while. But near the end of June some bodies drawn out of the garrisons about Ypres came and possessed themselves of Bruges without any opposition; and the garrison in Ghent was too weak to make any resistance, so they capitulated and marched out. Upon this the whole French army marched towards those places, hoping to have carried Oudenarde in their way. The Duke of Marlborough followed so quick that they drew off from Oudenarde as he advanced. In one day, which was the last of June, he made a march of five leagues, passed the Scheldt without any opposition, came up to the French army, and engaged them in the afternoon. They had the advantage both of numbers and of ground; yet our men beat them from every post, and, in an action that lasted six hours, we had such an entire advantage that nothing but the darkness of the night and weariness of our men saved the French army from being totally ruined. There were about five thousand killed and about eight thousand made prisoners (of whom one thousand were officers), and about six thousand more deserted; so that the French lost at least twenty thousand men, and retired in great haste and in greater confusion to Ghent. On the confederates' side there were about one thousand killed and two thousand wounded; but our army was so wearied with a long march and a long action, that they were not in a condition to pursue with that haste that was to be desired, otherwise great advantages might have been made of this victory. Prince Eugene's army of about thirty thousand men was now very near the great army, and joined it in a few days after this action; but he himself was come up before them, and had a noble share in the victory, which, from the neighbourhood of that place, came to be called the battle of Oudenarde.

Sardinia surrendered to the fleet under Sir John Leake, and declared for King Charles III.; and Minorca was afterwards taken by the Admiral. These complicated misfortunes made King Louis sue for peace.

In 1709 the chief scene of the war was in Flanders, where the Duke of Marlborough, trusting little to the shows of peace, had everything in readiness to open the campaign as soon as he saw what might be expected from the Court of France. The army was formed near Lille, and the French lay near Douay. The train of artillery was, by a feint, brought up the Lys to Courtray; so it was believed the design was upon Ypres, and there being no apprehension of any attempt on Tournay, no particular care was taken of it; but it was on the sudden invested, and the train was sent back to Ghent, and brought up the Scheldt to Tournay. The siege was carried on regularly: no disturbance was given to the works by sallies, so the town capitulated within a month, the garrison being allowed to retire into the citadel, which was counted one of the strongest in Europe, not only fortified with the utmost exactness, but all the ground was wrought into mines; so that the resistance of the garrison was not so much apprehended as the mischief they might do by blowing up their mines. A capitulation was proposed for delivering it up on the 5th of September, if it should not be relieved sooner, and that all hostilities should cease till then. This was offered by the garrison, and agreed to by the Duke of Marlborough; but the King of France would not consent to it unless there were a general suspension, by the whole army, of all hostilities; and that being rejected, the siege went on. Many men were lost in it, but the proceeding by sap prevented much mischief: in the end no relief came, and the garrison capitulated in the beginning of September, but could obtain no better conditions than to be made prisoners of war.

After this siege was over, Mons was invested, and the troops marched thither as soon as they had levelled their trenches about Tournay; but the Court of France resolved to venture a battle rather than to look on and see so important a place taken from them. Boufflers was sent to join with Villars in the execution of this design. They possessed themselves of a wood at Malplaquet, and entrenched themselves so strongly, that in some places there were three entrenchments cast up, one within another. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene saw plainly it was not possible to carry on the siege of Mons while the French army lay so near it; so it was necessary to dislodge them. The attempt was bold, and they saw the execution would be difficult, and cost them many men. This was the sharpest action in the whole war, and lasted the longest. The French were posted so advantageously that our men were often repulsed; and, indeed, the French maintained their ground better, and showed more courage than appeared in the whole course of the war; yet in conclusion they were driven from all their posts, and the action ended in a complete victory. The number of slain was almost equal on both sides, about twelve thousand of a side. We took five hundred officers prisoners, besides many cannon, standards, and ensigns. Villars was disabled by some wounds he received, so Boufflers made the retreat in good order. The military men have always talked of this as the sharpest action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the generals for beginning so desperate an attack. The French thought it a sort of victory that they had animated their men to fight so well behind entrenchments, and to repulse our men so often and with so great loss. They retired to Valenciennes, and secured themselves by casting up strong lines, while they left our army to carry on the siege of Mons, without giving them the least disturbance. As soon as the train of artillery was brought from Brussels, the siege was carried on with great vigour, though the season was both cold and rainy; the outworks were carried with little resistance, and Mons capitulated about the end of October. With that the campaign ended, both armies retiring into winter quarters.

The Duke of Marlborough went beyond sea in February, to prepare all matters for an early campaign, designing to open it in April, which was done. The French had wrought so long upon their lines that it was thought they would have taken as much care in maintaining them, but, upon the advance of our army, they abandoned them; and though they seemed resolved to make a stand upon the scarp, yet they ran from that likewise, and this opened the way all on to Douay; so that was invested. The garrison was eight thousand strong, well furnished with everything necessary to make a brave defence. The besieged sallied out often, sometimes with advantage, but much oftener with loss. It was the middle of May before the French could bring their army together. It appeared that they resolved to stand upon the defensive, though they had brought together a vast army of two hundred battalions and three hundred squadrons. They lay before Arras, and advanced to the plains of Lens. Villars commanded, and made such speeches to his army that it was generally believed he would venture on a battle rather than look on and see Douay lost. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene posted their army so advantageously, both to cover the siege and to receive the enemy, that he durst not attack them; but after he had looked on a few days, in which the two armies were not above a league distant, he drew off. So the siege going on, and no relief appearing, both Douay and the fort escarp capitulated on the 14th of June.

I have now completed my first design in writing, which was to give a history of our affairs for fifty years, from the 29th of May, 1660; so, if I confined myself to that, I should here give over. But the war seeming now to be near an end, and the peace in which it must end being that which will probably give a new settlement to all Europe, as well as to our affairs, I resolve to carry on this work to the conclusion of the war.

After Douay was taken our army sat down before Bethune, and that siege held them a month, at the end of which the garrison capitulated; and our army sat down at one and the same time before Aire and St. Venant, to secure the head of the Lys. St. Venant was taken in a few weeks; but the marshy ground about Aire made that a slower work, so that the siege continued there about two months before the garrison capitulated. This campaign, though not of such lustre as the former, because no battle was fought, yet was by military men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this respect, that our men were about a hundred and fifty days in open trenches, which was said to be a thing without example. During these sieges the French army posted themselves in sure camps, but did not stir out of them, and it was not possible to engage them into any action. Nothing considerable passed on the Rhine, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both sides.

As the Duke of Marlborough was involved in the general censure passed on the former ministry, so he had not the usual compliment of thanks for the successes of the former campaign. When that was moved in the House of Lords, it was opposed with such eagerness by the Duke of Argyll and others, that it was let fall. For this the Duke of Marlborough was prepared by the Queen, who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the thanks of the two Houses, as had been formerly. She added that she expected he should live well with her ministers, but did not think fit to say anything of the reasons she had for making those changes in her ministry. Yet he showed no resentment for all the ill-usage he met with; and, having been much pressed by the States and our other allies to continue in the command of the army, he told me upon that account he resolved to be patient, and to submit to everything, in order to the carrying on the war; and finding the Queen's prepossession against his Duchess was not to be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to the Queen. She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy Purse, in all which she had served with great economy and fidelity to the Queen, and justice to those who dealt with the Crown. The Duchess of Somerset had the first two of these employments, and Mrs. Masham had the last.

The campaign was now opened on both sides in the Netherlands, though later than was intended; the season continued long so rainy that all the ways in those parts were impracticable; nothing was yet attempted on either side; both armies lay near one another, and both were so well posted that no attack was yet made; and this was the present state of affairs abroad at the end of May. At home Mr. Harley was created Earl of Oxford, and then made Lord High Treasurer, and had now the supreme favour. The session of Parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great project carried on for a trade into the South Sea; and a fund was projected for paying the interest of nine millions that were in arrear for our marine affairs.

The Duke of Marlborough's army was not only weakened by the detachment that Prince Eugene carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over five thousand men of the best bodies of his army for an expedition designed by sea, so that the French were superior to him in number. They lay behind lines that were looked on as so strong that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing, and it was said that Villars had written to the French King that he had put a *ne plus ultra* to the Duke of Marlborough; but, contrary to all expectation, he did so amuse Villars with feint motions, that at last, to the surprise of all Europe, he passed the lines near Bouchain, without the loss of a man.

This raised his character beyond all that he had done formerly: the design was so well laid, and was so happily executed, that in all men's opinions it passed for a masterpiece of military skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of Marlborough, no other person having any share except in the execution. When our army was now so happily got within the French lines, the Dutch deputies proposed the attacking the French, and venturing a battle, since this surprise had put them in no small disorder. The Duke of Marlborough proposed the besieging Bouchain, which he thought might oblige the French to endeavour to raise the siege, and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal terms, or it would bring both a disreputation and a disheartening on their army if a place of such importance should be taken in their sight. Both the Dutch deputies and the general officers thought the design was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the matter. It seemed impracticable to take a place situated in a morass, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, in the sight of a superior army, for the French lay within a mile of them. There was also great danger from the excursions that the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé might make to cut off their provisions, which were to come to them from Tournay. All about the Duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking, since a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his enemies with the advantages that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the schemes so well that he resolved to venture on it. After twenty days from the opening the trenches, the garrison of Bouchain capitulated, and could have no better terms than to be made prisoners of war. As this was reckoned the most extraordinary thing in the whole history of the war, so the honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the Duke of Marlborough, as the blame of a miscarriage in it must have fallen singly on him. Villars's conduct on this occasion was much censured; but it was approved by the King of France, and with this the campaign ended in those parts.

On the 7th of December the Queen opened the Parliament. In her speech she said, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place were appointed for treating a general peace; her allies, especially the States, had by their ready concurrence expressed an entire confidence in her, and she promised to do her utmost to procure reasonable satisfaction to them all. She demanded of the House of Commons the necessary supplies for carrying on the war, and hoped that none would envy her the glory of ending it by a just and honourable peace. She in particular recommended unanimity, that our enemies might not think us a divided people, which might prevent that good peace of which she had such reasonable hopes and so near a view.

I look next to Utrecht, where the treaty was opened. The Emperor and the empire sent their ministers very late and unwillingly thither; but they submitted to the necessity of their affairs, yet with this condition—that the French proposals (for so the propositions that were formerly called preliminaries came to be named) should be no ground to proceed on, and that a new treaty should be entered on, without any regard to them. It was also agreed, to save the loss of time in settling the ceremonial, that the plenipotentiaries should assume no character of dignity until all matters were adjusted and made ready for signing.

After a long expectation we at last knew that on the 13th of March the treaty of peace between England, France, and the States was signed. Upon this the Parliament was opened on the 9th of April. The Queen in her speech told the two Houses that she had now concluded a peace, and had obtained a further security for the Protestant succession, and that she was in an entire union with the House of Hanover. She asked of the Commons the necessary supplies, and recommended to both Houses the cultivating the arts of peace, with a reflection upon faction. By the treaty of peace the French King was bound to give neither harbour nor assistance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the Protestant succession as it was settled by several acts of Parliament. Dunkirk was to be razed in a time limited within five months after the ratification. Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was left to the French, with liberty to dry their fish on Newfoundland. This was the main substance of the articles of peace. The treaty of commerce settled a free trade according to the tariff in the year 1664, excepting some commodities that were subjected to a new tariff in the year 1699, which was so high that it amounted to a prohibition. All the productions of France were to come into England under no other duties but those that were laid on the same productions from other countries; and when this was settled, then commissaries were to be sent to London to agree and adjust all matters relating to trade. With regard to the general objects of the alliance, it was agreed that Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands should be assigned to the Emperor; that the Duke of Savoy should possess Sicily as King; that Sardinia should be assigned to the Elector of Bavaria, with the title of King; that the States of Holland should add Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Nieuport to their other possessions in Flanders, but restore Lille and its dependencies; and that the King of Prussia should exchange Orange and the possessions belonging to that family in Franche Comté for Upper Guelders. Great Britain was left in possession of Gibraltar and Minorca.

THE END

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219 { Lower / Needham / Sharpe } Physicians — For Sharpe read Short (Munk)
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229. Bar student executed for killing Dangerfield.
233 — Execution of Monmouth. Executioner nervous, more than one stroke required. (?) Head with 2 cuts in Holy Trinity, Minor
234 — Hampden commits suicide.
234 — How the Taunton Rebels were hanged
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270 } Mr. Chamberlain, the man midwife
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291 — Proposed inquiry into legitimacy of the Prince of Wales
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298 — Wm. III suffers from want of exercise
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315. W. & M. proclaimed King & Queen of Ireland
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343 — Massacre of Glencoe
345 — Settlement upon Princess Anne
347 — Ashby, Commander
354 — Character of Queen Mary's Court
359 — Small Pox in London.
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361 — Young Duke of Gloucester's Illness and Death
362 — King William's ill health.
382 — Death of King James

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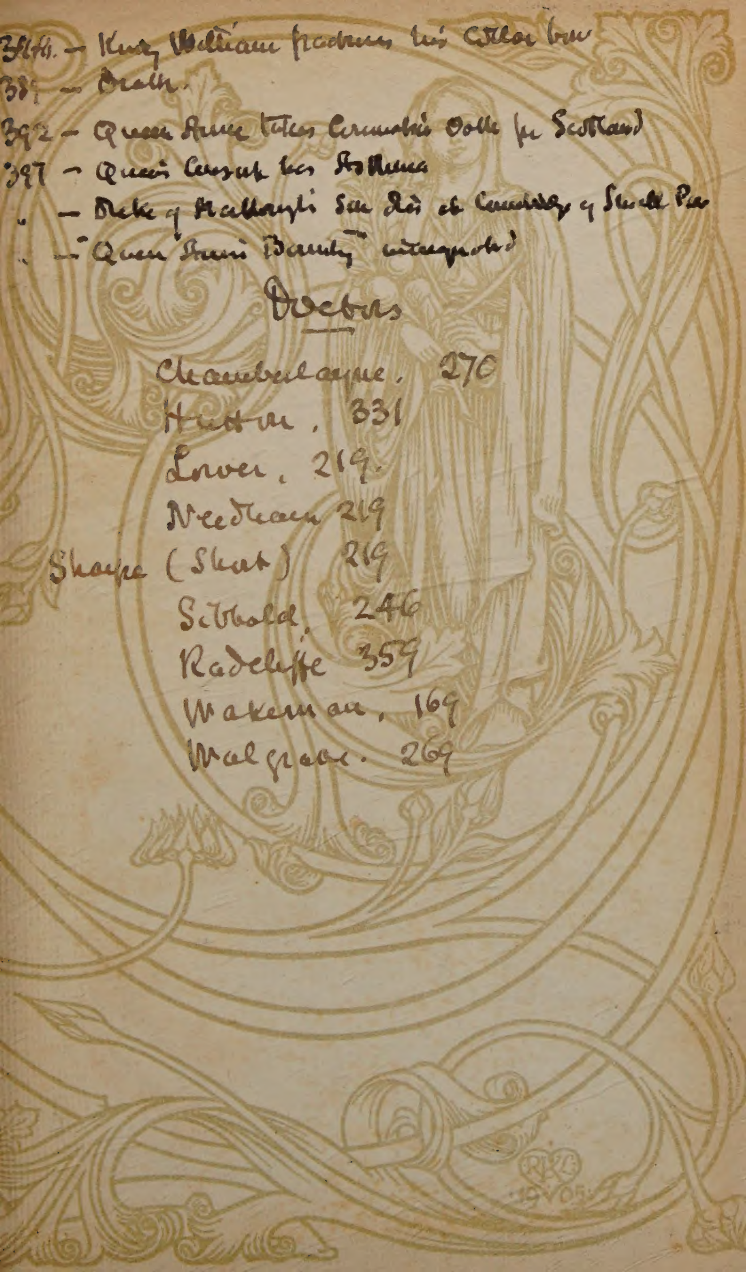

384. – King William pardons his Cellar boy
388 – Death.
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